



ARREST IN MONTANA
The Unabomber Unmasked?



WOMEN'S PRISON
'Cruel And Degrading'

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

APRIL 15, 1998

WHAT DID HE KNOW?

Missing Documents
And Cries Of
Coverup Mark The
Most Serious
Military Scandal
Since The War

*Gen. Jean Boyle,
Chief of the Defence Staff*

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APRIL 15 1998 \$21.99 (US \$18)

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Maclean's is also available on the Internet at <http://www.macleans.ca/macleans> and on CompuServe (GO MACLEANS).

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What did
he know?

Gen. John Boyle, Canada's top military officer, was under fire as the Somalia scandal spread to the most senior ranks of the armed forces. With allegations of a cover-up damaging the military's image, one key question was: what did the chief of the defence staff know?



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Andrew Cockran is breaking new frontiers, creating TV programs and Web sites that bring broadcasting and the Internet closer together.

COVER PHOTO BY JAMES MCKAY

From The Editor

Who are they trying to fool?



The devil is in the details. The trucksters who broke into the Democratic National Committee offices at the Watergate complex in Washington in 1972 taped the door latches back for a speedy exit, and a security guard on patrol decided to investigate. A Los Angeles man on a balcony videotaped a scuffle taking place outside police squad cars at the dark and end-

ed up with the notorious footage of the Rodney King beating Canada's Somalia scandal has his own accidental discovery—and is littered with other incriminating bits of significant detail.

For starters, the beating death of Somali immigrant Shabane Arane by rogue members of the Canadian Airborne came to light after a reporter from the *Gleaner* in Pembroke, Ont., travelled to the unit's camp at Bellefleur in March, 1993, to write about the local Camp Petawawa boys on a peace mission abroad. While in Somalia, he saw one member of the Airborne being rushed to hospital and later discovered that the incident was a suicide attempt and that arrests had been made in the Arane affair.

Ever since, Canadian authorities seem to have adopted Richard Nixon's first principle: deny, deny, deny. When the guilty are not being criminalized or disciplined, Defence Minister David Collette and other high-ups are falling all over themselves to disown responsibility. It is the Kim Campbell principle of governance: take me to my leader.

The height of the Petawilla jolly came last week when the chief of the defence staff, Gen. Jean Boyle, ordered all units to spend one day searching their files and to send him "any Somalia-related documents not previously forwarded." Presumably members on patrol

in the air send on the high seas will keep an eye out for innocent testile while they head through their summer cruises.

Who is Boyle trying to fool? As the former chief of the working group entrusted with co-ordinating the Forces' response to the Somalia scandal, he must know that among the vital pieces of evidence that have gone missing are the computerized records of communications between headquarters and the field just as the Arane story was breaking. This is the military's digitized version of the team playbook. It is the bible, the holy grail, of military operations. These are not idle scraps of paper or pencilled notes of a field commander. These are the operational logs of headquarters—and they should not be missing.

And yet an entire set of unit logs about the Airborne regiment, covering a critical two-month period in early 1993, has disappeared. Presumably the logs contain information on what messages were sent in the hours after the discovery of the 15-year-old's death. They might even shed light on who ordered up the doctoring of government documents required by the judicial inquiry into the matter.

The officer who managed the electronic log says that even he does not have access to the master computer—but only 30 senior individuals have clearance (page 22). The time has come to perform a very simple task: someone should check the records to determine who had access to the computer just before the logs disappeared. It is as easy as looking for tape in a door.



Collette (left), Boyle: the devil is in the details

to the master computer—but only 30 senior individuals have clearance (page 22). The time has come to perform a very simple task: someone should check the records to determine who had access to the computer just before the logs disappeared. It is as easy as looking for tape in a door.

Newsroom Notes:

Maclean's in Chinese

Last week marked the publication of two editions of *Maclean's*—its regular issue and the third edition of the bi-monthly Chinese-language version. At a Toronto reception, a Hong Kong government official approached Vancouver Bureau Chief Chris Wood, senior editor of the edition, and complimented him for a story dealing with Chinese-language content on the Internet. It was typical of the extra dimension that Wood and his co-editor, Lilian Se, bring to the project. In addition

to adapting pieces from the main magazine, Wood and Se aim to originate about one-third of their lineup from fresh reporting on issues and trends in the Chinese community. Those have ranged from personality profiles to business stories. Several of the articles also have appeared in the main magazine. Indeed, an English-language version of articles appearing in the Jan. 30 edition has been nominated for a National Magazine Award. A survey of 300 Chinese residents in late March also was encouraging: more than 75 per cent rated the edition as "good" or "excellent"—especially in helping them learn about Canada. The next issue will appear in *Sing Tao* daily newspapers across Canada in the last weekend of June.



BOSS
HUGO BOSS

Photograph by Richard Avedon



Sperm cells: can we ignore the prospect of the demise of our race through infertility?

Hitting below the belt

In view of our present rate of population increase, is "The sperm scare" (Cover, April 1) really a problem?

Tim Mox,
Wilkesboro, Ont.

It occurred to me that your emphasis might better have been directed to the increase in death by breast cancer, due perhaps to the pollution and chemicals in our environment. Now, I don't have any grand, but I'd be surprised if 5,000 men died in Canada last year from low sperm count. Let's get our priorities straight.

Mal Jones,
Calgary

We persist in ignoring the obvious signs of our civilization, such as the poisoning of rivers and lakes, the extinction of species and ozone depletion, but can we ignore the prospect of the demise of our race through infertility? I'm glad to see that Mother Nature is finally forcing us to take notice through that which is closest to our eyes, our hearts and our future.

Christopher Aul,
King City, Ont.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

should be addressed to:
Mailbox Magazine Letters

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Nature's capacity for self-correction will never cease to amaze me. I grew up reading biology texts and wondering at the power of nature. I heard many stories about animal populations that, upon becoming too dense for the resources in the area, they inhabited, would start demonstrating low fertility rates, homosexual behavior and even mass suicide. These are measures taken by nature itself to control the balance of the ecosystem. Among the scientists quoted in the story, there was not one who could demonstrate conclusively that man-made chemicals are at fault. Do they not understand that we ourselves are in no way immune to these same forces of nature?

Peter Macdonald,
Toronto, Ont.

Generic medications

One critical fact that was not revealed in your article "At war over Prozac" (Business, April 1) is that generic copies of antidepressant medications are not required to be exactly similar. The Health Protection Branch allows a differential of up to 20 per cent in the amount of active ingredients absorbed by the body between the original manufacturer's dosage and that produced by a generic manufacturer. While this differential may not be significant in some medications, they present serious concerns for medications that require long-term use. Although we strongly support the introduction of generic medications, we want these medications to be clearly identified as different.

William F. Ashburn,
President, Depressive and Anxious Disorders
Association of Canada
Winnipeg

Back to the future

Political science professor Nelson Wiseman states that Ontario Premier Mike Harris wants to "get government back to 1965, but the province has changed a lot since then" ("Days of outrage," Canada, April 1). Yes, the province has changed—its debt is now soaring and its deficit is skyrocketing due to years of Liberal and socialist rule. I say we take the country back to about 1995, when the non-political tax-spenders didn't have free rein over the

Sitting ducks

In his commentary on the Reform party ("The Jim Brown factor," Backstage Ontario, April 1), Anthony Wilson-Smith states, "They cannot shake the image that there are really just two kinds of Reformers: those who use Sundays to go to church, and those who use it to go duck hunting." I'm not a real fan of the Reform party, but they're not really the problem. The real problem is that the Liberal party (and the parliamentary antics galloping around it) contains darn few churchgoers and almost no duck hunters.

Tim Pro,
Thornhill, Ont.

public purse, and our children and grand-children weren't saddled with a future of crushing debts to boot.

David Bennett,
Ottawa

This article illustrates that it is time to reduce the privileges given to Canada's various bloated unions. If teenagers were to hang around the entrance to an office building and verbally abuse and physically harass workers and patrons from going about their personal business, you can be sure that the police would be expected to disperse the group. If you call yourselves a union, however, you are given licence to exhibit criminal behavior without fear of consequence. The government's policies are not at issue here, but simply the union's lack of respect and civility. If they were looking for support from the general public, they were sorely misguided.

Brian C. Ryle,
Pittsburg, Ont.

Punctured balloon

It certainly sounds as if *Mystronius Island* ("That tiny Menzies," Television, April 1) will have trouble getting past the Canadian Global launching pad. The helium observation balloon used by the cat in 1995 could, quite simply, not have existed. Helium was only discovered in 1868. Helium is a rare gas in the atmosphere (less than 0.0005 per cent). It is produced as a byproduct of radioactive decay, hence the reason for its being found in natural gas, the last of these being its most plentiful source. Helium was only conclusively found in terrestrial sources in 1895, and because of our rather prodigious use of it, the U.S. government is actually thinking of stockpiling helium, presumably for strategic reasons.

Deirdre Kelly,
Kingston, Ont.



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Column



Barbara Amiel

Kim Campbell's stupefying memoirs

When I first read it, I thought it was a parody. This, I said to myself, is written by a wife misanthrope, an author out to caricature women. Alas, the excerpt from Kim Campbell's new book, *Time and Chance: The Prime Minister's Memoirs of Canada's First Woman Prime Minister*, featured in April's *Weekend* (p. 36), is actually written by the woman herself. The thought that she was prime minister of Canada—for five months—is stupefying.

Campbell's memoirs will be available after April 15. Meanwhile, this excerpt concentrates on the election campaign in which Ms. Campbell managed to all but eliminate the Progressive Conservative from the federal scene. Campbell goes on her candid explanation for the disaster she wanted to tell Canadians about her "old friend" politics, her "difficult" policies, her authentic, memorable, new and (again) "old friend" ideas, but she was prevented from doing so by the "old boys" of the Tory party, specifically male and nasty campaign chairman John Tory and executive pollster Alan Gregg. They didn't understand her needs, you see.

The excerpt, unfortunately, doesn't ever tell us what Ms. Campbell's new and different ideas were. And while readers might feel that it is daring to imagine one of our few women politicians as one that without having read the full book, I am prepared to go out on a limb and bet that the book itself won't be any more helpful.

Campbell was accompanied on the election campaign by her stepchildren, Brenda Davison, whom she asked to keep a journal. Though not related by blood, Campbell and Davison are as one in that they both embrace cliché and banality without embarrassment and in the perfect certainty that they are stating something profound. Some samples:

On her advisors: "I could have gone to John and Allan and said, 'I'm in to have any hope of winning. I have to have a campaign team run by people who know me and understand what I'm about. It's a huge risk, but I believe it's the only hope I have of convincing voters that I really am new and different.' This would have been an enormous gamble and I don't see how I could have taken it." Well, she might have just tried, being the prime minister and all.

On policy: "The subject was helicopters . . . I was told we could announce a savings of \$1 billion with a cut of seven aircraft. I was highly sceptical, but I had no supporters. . . . There was no time to argue the issue; the speech was set. From that point on, I was just another politician doing politically expedient things." Poor dear, I wouldn't try that one on Thatcher or Bharata.

On her social life: "In the night and a half weeks between my return from Tokyo and the election call, I had slept at Blairington Lake a total of only twenty-eight nights. In addition to being tired, I

was lonely. I had recently begun to see Gregory Lehtinen, an investor and manufacturer of medical electronics and fitness equipment from Montreal. . . . Saturday was blissful. Gregory had brought several pairs of his Esprit running shoes and we all tried them out, leaping about on the lawn on powerful springs mounted on the soles. . . . Monday was the last day of our idyll. Dinner that night, just the four of us, had a poignant quality. Alas (Campbell's sister), David (Alan's fiancé) and Gregory would all head home on Tuesday leaving me to the final preparation for the election call." One would think it the last supper. Putting aside the loopy picture of the Campbell quartet leaping about in pigo shoes, what man running for the highest office would mean in print about his dating schedule and being able to spend only 47 per cent of his nights at an idyllic weekend home? In this sense, Campbell reminds me of the scores of females who these days choose law school and open graduation mass that male lawyers work twelve-hour days while they as women have different requirements and must think about their biological needs or home duties and so, satisfy, late moonlighting and are disadvantaged by gender.

But let's get to the real heart of the matter from stepdaughter Davison's diary. Here is how she sums up her problems: "The personal time is being eroded; there is not enough time carved out for personal relationships. The PM is not sufficiently informed of schedules. To be really effective, that is, authentic, passionate and committed, and to produce the personality of trust and connection to the public requires growth of the will in a substantive way." Could it really be that Canada actually had a prime minister, albeit briefly, who spoke this way and actually thought she was saying something? Later, Davison writes: "PM needs time to get her [clipped] boots fixed, get her nails done, get laundry and bills sorted out. She explodes and part of this is about being mismanaged, not informed sufficiently, not adequately prepared, being handed speeches 10 minutes before the event, being ruled by guilt, and being exhausted."

Well, yes, is there a politician not captivated by last-minute speeches, embarrassing schedules, clipped boxes and sore muscles? It goes with the territory. One can't help comparing Campbell with Wellington's famous exchange during the Battle of Waterloo when a casual-slasher strikes the officer next to him: "By God, sir," says the officer, "I lost my leg." Wellington looks at him. "By God, sir, so you have."

How did Kim Campbell ever manage to become prime minister? I suppose ambition gets people a very long way, indeed. We all laugh at the Norman Vincent Pease School of Positive Thinking, but Campbell may be a fine example of it. Couple that with the gender politics of the day and Kim's very PM. But the terrible thing is that the Canadian electorate, male and female, had this uncanny insight into Campbell long before she wrote her memoirs—and threw her right out.

Greening Notes

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

The price of wedding photos in the park

Photographs of postmodern couples and their wedding parties are a big part of the big day. But in some Vancouver parks, the overwhelming number of wedding parties turning up at the most popular locations for picture-taking has become a big headache. During the peak wedding season of May to September, sometimes as many as 20 groups have shown up at the same place at the same time. And while bridal parties have not yet been known to resort to fistfights, the level of tension among groups competing for the same space has ruffled some of the park's usual visitors. With that in mind, the city's park board has initiated a licensing system that will come into effect just in time for the coming peak season. Newlyweds wishing to have their pho-



tos taken in one of the most popular locations, Van Dusen Park in south-central Vancouver, will have to pay \$100 for a permit. That will give them admission to the park and a blessing to use their preferred spot at a specific time. "We would like to see things go smoothly for everyone," says Lise McKinnis, director of environment and operations for the Vancouver Parks and Recreation Board. "We will try this out and see how it goes." If only the problems that crop up later in marriage were so simple.

Sorry, this is the wrong number

On their latest CD, *These Days*, the American rock group Don Jon plays a 1960s song called 424-7789 by soul singer Wilson Pickett. It has been stuck in the singles and the place mugging all the book at the Luchini, Que., home of Robert and Lise Maciville, who are the only people with that number in North America. "There were more than 50 calls the first day it came out," says Lise Maciville, a 50-year-old mother of two. "We're still getting 10 or more a day." She says the callers are



Jon Kuo Joo, 'youth' adolescents

mostly "very polite" adolescents who want to speak to the group's namesake, Jon Kuo Joo. "I tell them that I don't know 'Mr. Jon,'" she adds. A spokesman for Polygram Records, which distributes the CD in Canada, says the company offered to pay for the Maciville's number to be changed, but they declined. "We have friends and family across Canada," says Lise Maciville, "and we don't want to have to contact everybody to give them a new number."

Photo by David H. Jones

Fuel for the fire

A new study provides further evidence of what anti-tobacco foes have long argued: That teenagers are strongly influenced by cigarette advertising. According to research by University of British Columbia marketing professor Richard Pollack, published last week in the *Chicago-based Journal of Marketing*, teenagers are three times more receptive than adults to cigarette ads. The study also shows that teens tend to smoke brands of the most heavily advertised brands: Marlboro, Camel and Newport. Says Pollack, "Teens are alert to what's hot and what's not."

A lesson in fact-checking

The *Yveson Review of Journalism*, a magazine produced by students at Toronto's *Yveson Polytechnic University*, takes the *Yveson News* to task for mistakes it made in covering a controversy on campus last fall. Sen senior associate editor Lorne Goldenberg defended the coverage since "the pressures of getting out a daily paper make it impossible to spend much time verifying information," reports the *Yveson*. One problem: Goldenberg said no such thing. In a swiftly issued letter of apology, *Yveson* publisher Don Owa, a *Yveson* instructor, acknowledges that "at no time during his interview... was Mr. Goldenberg questioned about any fact contained in *Yveson's* stories." Hence the pressure of deadlines.

In the army now

As the direct descendant of a cavalry regiment formed by the Melian and Ogden families in the early 18th century, the Royal Canadian Hussars has long been the child's unit of choice for military-edited offspring of Montreal's rich and famous. The latest son of a VIP to join the Hussars—whose colorful history includes Sobieski in the War of 1812 against the United States, in the Boer War at the turn of the century in South Africa, and many of the major battles of the First and Second World Wars—is the second son of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau. Alexandre Trudeau—such as he is better known—recently joined the armed regiment as an officer cadet. The 29-year-old son-in-law is preparing to undergo a basic cadet training course this summer. If he makes it through, he will join the unit as a lieutenant in the fall.

Photo, Alexandre Trudeau as officer cadet



Photo by David H. Jones

BEST-SELLERS

- FICTION**
1. *Primary Colors*, James Oles (2)
 2. *Lies, Alibis, Dark Lying* (3)
 3. *White Princess of the Snow*, Elizabeth Strout (2)
 4. *The Remains of the Day*, Hilary Mantel (1)
 5. *Preaching*, John Updike (2)
 6. *In the Kingdom of the Blind*, John Updike (2)
 7. *The Goodbye Stranger*, Joan Didion (2)
 8. *First King of the Mountain*, Terry Brooks (2)
 9. *The House of the Living Dead* (3)
 10. *Island in the Sea*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
 11. *Island in the Sea*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
 12. *Island in the Sea*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
- NONFICTION**
1. *The Way of the Wizard*, David Copperfield (2)
 2. *Emotional Intelligence*, Daniel Goleman (2)
 3. *Emotional Intelligence*, Daniel Goleman (2)
 4. *Emotional Intelligence*, Daniel Goleman (2)
 5. *Emotional Intelligence*, Daniel Goleman (2)
 6. *Emotional Intelligence*, Daniel Goleman (2)
 7. *Emotional Intelligence*, Daniel Goleman (2)
 8. *The Seven Year Itch*, David Copperfield (2)
 9. *The Seven Year Itch*, David Copperfield (2)
 10. *The Seven Year Itch*, David Copperfield (2)
 11. *The Seven Year Itch*, David Copperfield (2)
 12. *The Seven Year Itch*, David Copperfield (2)

The small sleep

Vancouver neurophysiologist Stanley Coren might keep people awake nights with his book on the perils of sleep deprivation (*See Sleep Deprivation: An Eye-Opening Exploration into the Science and Mysteries of Sleep*, he links the lack of sleep to the Chet Baker space shuttle explosion and other disasters. Better still, he makes a good case for sleeping in.



Photo by David H. Jones

Passages

RETIRED: Paul Desmarais, 69, one of the country's most powerful businessmen, as president and chief executive of Power Corp. of Canada effective on May 10, in Montreal. The firm's revenues and market went soaring among other businesses, Grand West Life Assurance Co. and Montreal's La Presse. Desmarais, a St-Hubert, Ont., native was 28 years ago took over the local bus company and turned it into a \$31-billion empire, will relinquish day-to-day operations to his two sons, while retaining his 6.1 per cent controlling interest.



Desmarais Jr., 41, nine chairman of Power Financial Corp., will become chairman of co-chair of Power Corp. while his brother André, 39, will continue as president and be the other co-chair executive

REJECTED: By the Supreme Court of Canada, an attempt by anti-Semitic Jewish high-school teacher Michèle Ross of Montreal, N.B., to return to the classroom in the unanimous decision, the five justices ruled that Ross's right to freedom of speech must be subordinate to protecting young students from an atmosphere poisoned by hatred. The court also said it was irrelevant that Ross kept his anti-Jewish views outside the classroom. "Young children are less likely to make an intellectual distinction between comments a teacher makes in the school and those the teacher makes outside the school," said Justice Gerard La Forest who wrote the decision.

APPOINTED: Longtime public servant Maurice O'Neill, 52, as chair of Montreal's International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, by Prime Minister Lloyd Axworthy. O'Neill, who will replace Nicole Côté Hargreaves, has led the North-South Institute, an Ottawa-based think tank, since 1989.

DIED: Writer and former senior Jean Le Moyne, 83, in Ottawa. As a journalist, Le Moyne was known for his attacks in the close connection between religion and the state in Quebec. From 1969 to 1978, he was a key adviser to then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

DIED: Actress Greta Garbo, 92, of heart failure, in Hospital in Dallas. The Irish-born Garbo won an Academy Award for her portrayal of a courageous housewife in *Mrs. Miniver*, a 1942 drama about a family's survival during Germany's blitz bombings of England.

Charges of coverup over Somalia round the military

What Did He Know?

BY D'ARCY JENISH and LUKE FISHER

General Jean Boyle looked unimpeachable and soundly trusted—and that was perfectly understandable. After all, the 48-year-old Boyle, the most senior officer in the Canadian Forces, was taking an unprecedented gamble to save his reputation, and perhaps his career. In a four-hour, 40-minute, one-way television broadcast last week, the 70,000 military employees of the department of national defence, Boyle proclaimed himself innocent of any wrongdoing in the Somalia affair, which senior defence experts are calling Canada's most serious military scandal since the Second World War. Boyle said he had done everything possible to assist a federal inquiry into the department's handling of the March 1993 killing of a 15-year-old Somali by a handful of Canadian peacekeepers. "I never participated in any effort to interfere with the work of the Somalia commission," he declared flatly, his face somber, his left hand nervously playing with a pen. But Boyle's statement raised as many questions as it answered, and left many observers wondering: what did he know?



Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia: Boyle on last week's video (left) raising as many questions as he answered

Ultimately, the three-member commission of inquiry, under the chairmanship of Federal Court Judge Gilles Lévesque, will decide how much Boyle knew—but it will be many months before they reach any conclusions. In the meantime, the commission raised fresh doubts about the conduct of the military by revealing only last week that documents crucial to the inquiry had either disappeared or been altered. Lévesque set aside four days of hearings in mid-April so that military officials can explain what happened to the files. Boyle took an extraordinary step: he ordered his entire department to drop all but the most essential duties on Tuesday, April 9, in order to search for the missing papers. But that is unlikely to stop the scandal from spreading. Many outside experts suggest that the disappearing documents point to a widespread and high-level attempt to contain, even cover up, the Somalia affair. "To orchestrate erasures and disappearances all over the place suggests that more than one person was involved, and that someone pretty high up the chain of command had to be giving instructions," says Brian MacDonald, a Toronto-based military consultant and former colonel in the army reserve.

And amid a week of disturbing revelations, the department announced that Col. Geoffrey Russell, a public affairs officer and



careers and reputations overshadowed other significant casualties of the Somalia affair—casualties within the ranks and the public image of the armed forces. "I think every last man and woman in uniform is feeling under attack," says Gordon Gray, who retired last September as a lieutenant-general. "We've had 50,000 people serve in active operations this decade and 99.9 per cent have served with distinction. That's all being lost. And in an era of shrinking budgets, some defence experts fear that shaking public confidence could lower morale and lower orders for the armed forces—whose budget of \$10.5 billion has already been slashed cut in the past few years. "We're going to see a long-term loss of faith in the military," noted Martin Skladcock, a defence analyst with Toronto's York University. "And the consternation was already much compared with, say, the people you can mobilize over a hospital closure. This could affect the bottom-line dollars available to the department."

Ironically, the incident that triggered the Somalia affair, the brutal beating, torture and killing of Shidane Arone, has been pushed into the background by the revelations of potential misconduct at high levels. Nine soldiers were eventually charged, all of them members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment based in Petawawa, Ont., in connection with Arone's death. Four were convicted, including Pte. Doug Boyle. Boyle pleaded not guilty last fall. He after serving one-third of a five-year sentence for

30-year veterans of the armed services, will be court-martialed on new charges related to the falsification of documents. At least two other senior officers may also be charged. Other, more junior, officers refused to participate in altering documents, according to the federal information commissioner, John Grace. MacDonald has learned they included three public affairs officers: gravel bootsman Chris Henderson and Joel Benjamin, and Capt. Stéphane Grenier. Finally last week, Lévesque's panel's case order asked when a lawyer representing Brig.-Gen. Ernest Denis, who has already testified about his role in the Somalia mission, accused the judge of being biased against his client. The lawyer, Bruce Carr Harris, asked Lévesque to step down after he wrote the judge had allegedly said that Denis had, perhaps been, "less than open and truthful in his testimony."

As the fallout from the Somalia affair spread, questions were also raised about the judgement of Defence Minister David Collette—who only last month's ago awarded Boyle a commendation for his role in the defence staff, in large part because the airborne fighter pilot was supposedly unstained by Somalia. Before plying Defence critic Jim Hart, who says the minister "seems to have believed almost everything Boyle told him," called for Collette's resignation. Despite last week's events, Collette publicly continued to stand behind Boyle. "He's a man of honor and a man of his word, and I took him at his word," Collette told MacDonald. "People can criticize my decisions and my judgment, but they can't accuse me of doing anything wrong."

'This is similar to the way Watergate started'

massacres. Four were acquitted, and one soldier, Master Cpl. Clifton Mitchell, was declared unfit to stand trial after suffering brain damage in a suicide attempt. As for the Airborne, Collette delivered the verdict in January 1995, following the release of amateur videos depicting shocking hazing rituals.

Most of the officers now implicated in the widening scandal had no direct connection with the Airborne, nor were they part of the so-called peacekeeping mission to Somalia. "The heart of the mission was to stop the killing of Anzacs, or at the very least, to get a few soldiers sent out of control," says Nicholas Strithens, a former captain who is now a Toronto-based military affairs columnist. "The core of this mission is that it wasn't dealt with properly by the defence establishment."

Most observers agree that the top officials in the department at the time, Admiral John Anderson, who was chief of defence staff, and Robert Fowler, the deputy defence minister, learned of the deaths less than 48 hours after the incident occurred on March 16. According to Roy, who was commander of the army and therefore responsible for the Airborne, a decision was made to follow the standard procedure of sending a military police to investigate. "We said we'd better get one of the best military police, from the national level, over there and get to the bottom of this," Roy said in an interview last week.

But others contend that senior military officials may have considered two other options: they could pursue a policy of full disclosure, or they could attempt to contain the problem. Strithens and MacDonald argue that the recent revelations about alleged and missing documents raise concerns that the top officers involved chose containment rather than disclosure—partly to protect the image of the armed forces and at least partly to shield the defence minister of

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the day. Kim Campbell, who had launched her successful bid for the Progressive Conservative leadership. "The initial reaction was to cover it up," says Maj. Donald. "This is similar to the way Watergate started: as people started to cover up, he was piled upon and the problem became the pack of lies rather than the original problem."

In fact, at least one military officer assigned to investigate some of the offences committed by Canadian prisoners in Somalia has complained of intimidation and harassment by senior members of the defence department. In an affidavit submitted to the Libman inquiry in Jan. 18, Maj. Vincent Brzozowski alleged that Maj. Gen. Clive Adly and Maj. Gen. Brian Vernon, who have both



Aftermath: hearing witness, Michael, concerning. Sheldene Anzacs (right) pulled into the background by allegations of misconduct.



ANATOMY OF A SCANDAL

What began as a humanitarian mission quickly unravelled into one of the darkest chapters in Canadian military history. Key events

DEC. 15, 1992: The Canadian Airborne Regiment arrives in Somalia.

MARCH 4, 1993: Two Somalis infiltrating a Canadian base camp are shot by soldiers. One dies.

MARCH 16, 1993: Somali, Sheldene Anzacs, 14, is beaten and tortured to death by Canadian soldiers. Two days later, Master Cpl. Clifton Mitchell, one of those arrested in Anzacs' death, is found hanging in

his cell in Somalia. Michael suffers brain damage and is declared unfit to stand trial.

MAY 15, 1993: The first charges are laid against Airborne soldiers related to Anzacs' death. Eight soldiers eventually face court martial, four of whom are convicted.

MARCH 16, 1994: In the most serious conviction to date, Pte. Eben Kyle Brown is sentenced to five years in jail for manslaughter and torture in Anzacs' death.

JAN. 23, 1995: Defence Minister David Colville announces he is disbanding the Airborne regiment after the broadcast of several videotapes showing soldiers making racist comments and taking part in brutal hazing rituals.

MARCH 16, 1995: Collette appoints a civilian inquiry into the Somalia mission.

MARCH 27, 1996: Federal Information Commissioner

John Grace says senior military officials deliberately altered documents released to the Somalia office before releasing them to a CBC radio reporter.

APRIL 1, 1996: The Somalia inquiry reveals that computer logs and documents supplied by the defence department had been tampered with to delete critical information about what happened in Somalia.



Brown during his court martial five-year sentence.

announced their retirement from the Forces, obstructed his investigation of Lt. Col. Carol Mathew, who was in charge of the Airborne in Somalia. Among other things, Brzozowski alleged that someone killed his files and changed the locks on the door to his office. Adly and Vernon have both refused to comment.

At this point, no one has forwarded a plausible explanation of how the defence documents concerning events in Somalia went missing or were altered. But defence experts agree that the files—known as unit operational logs and headquarters operational logs—are crucial to understanding the events in Somalia, and how military officials responded to them. "These logs are the backbone of the system," says Strithens. "They're the standard record of what happened. It's from them that you draw all your other reports."

According to Simon Gray, a senior lawyer with the Libman inquiry, an entire set of unit operational logs for the Airborne regiment, covering a critical two-month period in early 1993, have gone missing. Under standard procedure, these logs would contain records of all incoming and outgoing radio messages, and should provide the connection with real information about how the regimental chain of command dealt with the deaths of Anzacs and other incidents. Furthermore, there are supposed to be four copies of the documents, three of which are then sent to their superior. "If logs go missing, it's not just one set of documents, it's all the copies simultaneously," says MacDonald.

The headquarters logs, which are kept on computer, are equally important to the commission. But associations working for the inquiry have discovered that some key arguments dealing with communications between national defence headquarters and field commanders in Somalia have been deleted. For anyone familiar with military practices and procedures, tampering with operational logs is almost incomprehensible. "It is highly unusual because they are critical records," notes Strithens. "They are not easily padded."

The dramatic revelations about the operational logs collected with equally serious allegations of potential misconduct within the defence department's public affairs directorate. Information Commissioner Grace released a report on March 20 charging that senior officials altered documents pertaining to Somalia before releasing them to the media. The officers, who were not named in his report, then ordered the originals destroyed. "The complete destruction of the original [documents] was thwarted by a number of vigilant, courageous and honorable employees who delayed in obeying certain orders," Grace said. It is now known that Henderson, Bayman and Greener were involved in altering the documents, contrary to orders from their superiors.

The department reacted to Grace's report within days by announcing that Howell will be court-martialed on charges arising out of the falsification and destruction of documents. Two other senior officers, Lt. Col. Michael Connelley and Capt. Doug Day, who are no longer with the public affairs directorate, are also being investigated in connection with the same incidents. Before he was charged, Howell publicly accused Bayle, his predecessor John de Chastelain, and former deputy minister Fowler of knowing about and approving a plan to obstruct media requests for information about the Somalia affair. "I can't take the rap

FEELING THE CHILL IN THE TRENCHES

When Master Cpl. Gilles Carrière called his car to drive from the Kippure Barracks in Winnipeg to his home in the city's 14th Avenue suburb, he removed his military beret and sat in the passenger seat. "It used to be that you would wear full uniform in your car," he says. "But now, if someone saw your beret when you sit at a stop light you wonder, 'What are these people thinking about me?' Since Somalia, the respect we used to get just went away." In the three years since members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment killed Somali teenager Sheldene Anzacs, Canadian soldiers have felt an uncomfortable chill from the civilians they are paid to protect. As morale plummets, many say they feel tarnished by the image portrayed in the widely circulated photographs of an Airborne soldier posing triumphantly over the bodies and bloody Somali. "Some people think we're all like this," says Carrière, 34, a medic with 14 years' experience in the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry. "They look on us with such disdain."

Some soldiers blame the media. Maj. Grant McNally, a deputy commanding officer of the Princess, says that news organizations have chosen to focus on the ugly side of the Airborne's Somalia mission—while ignoring how they helped to bring order to a troubled country. "The public is not getting a balanced account," he adds. "They shouldn't be looking at us as a uniform and thinking they are all racist, undisciplined rabble, because that's not the case." But many soldiers say that the effects of the Somalia scandal are exacerbated by a sense that they have been abandoned by their own news and political leaders. "The senior men are afraid to stand up and say anything because their career is going to be jeopardized," says Master Cpl. Glen Karabowich, who served in Somalia with the Airborne and is now posted to the Princess in Winnipeg. "None of the senior noncommissioned officers have to have the courage to stand up for their troops."

Karabowich, for one, is furious with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's Liberal government for abandoning the Airborne early last year. "How else do troops up there stand to be a Canadian soldier and serve the country, when the guy who is running the country is taking a kick in their back?" The Somali tragedy meanwhile, is adding to an already deep-seated dissatisfaction felt by many in the Canadian Forces. Complaints range from shoddy equipment and inadequate pay to the low calibre of new recruits. "We're getting a bunch of winners coming through the military—no winners, but a selected few," says Sgt. Dick Grogan, a medic who has been pulled through water because of human rights, and is producing a worker slogan.

Some are voting with their feet. "This going out," says Cpl. Michael Wenczarski, who says he is frustrated after 12 years of service because budget cuts are keeping him from promotion. "Where are things going to be in 10 years from now? I think we're going to have a second-rate military if the keeps on going." According to Grogan, the current growing malaise is especially dangerous given the necessity for a strong esprit de corps in the military. "Good morale is so important," he says. "If people feel bad about their job, they'll let down. And he adds, "that puts others in danger—it could cost people their lives."

DONALD MACGILLIVRAY at Winnipeg

for something I was not responsible for," he said. "My motivation has already been damaged. But I will no longer remain passive and risk it being totally destroyed."

Several outside analysts with close connections to the department agree that it is difficult to believe that Hawell could have acted without the approval of his superiors. Under the military's strictly controlled management procedures, they say, he would almost certainly have carried out policies set by officers further up the chain of command. In fact, they note that Boyle was in charge of a working group responsible for setting policy on the release of information about Somalia. They also contend that Boyle included Hawell from the group. "Boyle was associate defence minister for policy and communications," said one former Defence official who asked to remain anonymous. "Hawell is only a colonel. He cannot decide on policy. He can't change a standing order without the concurrence of general officers, in this case Jean Boile."

Others maintain that the situation is less clear-cut. Desmond Morton, head of McGill University's Institute for the Study of Canada and a former officer himself, warned against jumping to conclusions about Boyle. "He had the misfortune to be the officer in overall command of public affairs at the time," said Morton. "But that does not necessarily mean he actually knew all of the details of what was going on in public affairs."

In his videotaped message, Boyle referred briefly to his role as

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associate deputy minister in charge of communications and public affairs. He said that he established a process about "reopened the day-to-day work of the department and the Canadian Forces from the public affairs team were authorized to deal with inquiries about Somalia. But he avoided any reference to the policies he set to guide those spokesmen, and he suggested that any misunderstanding might have been the responsibility of those working under him. "It may be that individuals have taken

it upon themselves to act in a manner that is less than militarily professional," he said. "If some have broken the law, they will have to answer for their actions." The general declined to speak last week to elaborate on his position, and to answer his critics.

Boyle will be called upon to provide some answers of his own when he appears before the commission of inquiry. He will also be doubtfully be grilled about the policies he set for his subordinates. But one question will be uppermost in the minds of many observers: What, if anything, did Boyle know about the destruction, disappearance or alteration of documents related to the Somalia affair? His answers may well determine whether the Canadian Forces can finally put Somalia behind them—or are added with a scandal that continues to damage them for years to come.

With E. KATE FULTON in Ottawa and RAGGY CAME in Montreal

The Somalia affair is damaging morale

TOP GUN UNDER FIRE

For Boyle, it was to have the best. An athlete as a youth in Ottawa's largely Francophone east end, he won a black belt in judo by the age of 30. As an officer cadet at the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ont., he was quickly recognized as a man who would go far, and went off for fighter-pilot training. Boyle later commanded Canada's fighter wing in Germany in the late 1980s, and in Ottawa's military bureaucracy he worked over more senior generals to become the youngest-ever chief of the defence staff last December. Back in the mid-1970s, former air force commander Lt.-Gen. Scott Clements saw Boyle's commander as 49th Tactical Fighter Squadron in Cold Lake, Alta. At the time, Clements told Macdon's last week, "Jean was an outstanding fighter pilot and he stood out absolutely."

Boyle, 44, continues to stand out—although few would say him his current position. As the head of Canada's largest military he stands accused of cowardice in the alleged military cover-up of the Somalia affair. Within some defence circles, the talk is not of the possibility of Boyle's resignation, but of when he will be forced to resign. It would be a stunner, and to a Canadian success story that has, symbolically, begun in 1962 when Boyle, then in his last years and inspired by soldiers parading on Parliament Hill during General's celebration, joined the military.

Graduating from the Royal Military College in 1971, Boyle fell in love with flying and was immediately recognized as having outstanding eye-hand coordination and a skill for intense decision-making—the most important qualities in the high-speed world of the fighter pilot. After a career as a fighter pilot and a brief stint in Ottawa—during which

he was promoted to colonel—Boyle moved to Luft Germany in 1980 to assume command of Canada's No. 4 fighter wing. In 1985, he was promoted to brigadier-general, and given the command of the 1st Canadian Air Division in Latvia—a job that saw him oversee the deployment of Canada's CF-18s during the Gulf War.

In 1991, Boyle returned to Canada and a new posting as commander of the Royal Military College. With removal from Ottawa during the early months of the Somalia affair, he could not escape the spreading crisis entirely when he returned to defence headquarters in 1993. He became the head of the working group entrusted with co-ordinating the Forces' response to the Somalia scandal. And his highlighting role through the military's crisis response, his bringing charges of cowardice. One former defence official says that, once in Ottawa, Boyle very deliberately set his sights on the top job. "He worked very hard to get the Defence Minister David Collette's trust," said the onetime official. "It was commonly recognized within the department that Boyle was working very actively to become the next CDS. This was his plan."

Boyle's chosen line: Ottawa during the beginning of the Somalia crisis was among the factors that swayed Collette to name him chief of the defence staff. Now, the minister continues to defend his choice. "He is the best man for the job," Collette told Macdon's last week. "I think it is tragic that so many people are misleading him." Others, though, say that the Canadian military's top gun has much to answer for. "He is accountable—he was the direct boss of the organization which is now under scrutiny for covering things up and destroying documents," notes one defence insider. "He either has to 'less up'—or prove conclusively that he didn't leave anything to do with it."

LUKE FISHER in Ottawa

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In January, Defence Minister David Collette asked his inner and boss, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, to keep him in one of the worst jobs in Ottawa. The request was unusual, to say the least. Practically every day of Collette's initial tenure, from his appointment in November, 1993, to Chrétien's anti-term cabinet shuffle on Jan. 25, belabored with one politically anguished problem after another: massive budget cuts, confusion over Canada's peacekeeping role in Bosnia, and then, in January, 1995, a series of military training videos that alienated the minister so much that he could not bear to watch them. But it was Collette's argument that he alone could, and should, handle the scandal of Canada's role in the 1993 United Nations mission in Somalia—and his prediction that it could only get worse—that convinced Chrétien to grant his wish. As Collette told *Maclean's* last week: "I let it be known that it would be a bit unfair, and perhaps not wise, to bring somebody else in, given the problems."

With the deepening shadow of the Somalia affair, Collette's assessment appeared last week to be an optimistic understatement. Struggling to dislodge what he described as "an absolute panic in the public mind" over the confused state of the country's armed forces, the defence minister battled renewed charges that he had lost control of a difficult portfolio and should resign. Certainly the rash of allegations of high-level cover-ups and document tampering has threatened the public inquiry that the Liberal government created 13 months ago to restore Canada's tarnished peacekeeping reputation. But military analysts argue that it has also blurred the credibility Collette needs in the ongoing overhaul of a top-heavy and obsolete military machine and its damaged rank and file. Worse for the Liberals, what was once a problem left over from a vanquished Tory regime has become their headache. "It is no longer an inherited file, it is now very much Collette's file," said Nicholas Stoenen, director of the Strategic Analysis Group in Toronto. "He has struggled nobly, but he has always been one step behind."

Until the Somalia file engulfed his ambitious agenda, Collette was considered in many military circles to be half a step ahead in a war-prone job. Criticized among rank and file soldiers for his abrupt dismissal on Jan. 25, 1994, of the academy-trained Canadian Airborne Regiment, he then won favor for impassioned pro-budget fights in cabinet for better equipment—including new armored personnel carriers and a commitment to purchase new submarines. His vow in March, 1995, to pass 23 generals and 50 colonels from the ranks by 1998 was skillfully accompanied with the accelerated promotion of younger officers, including his controversial choice of the 48-year-old Gen. Jean Boivin as chief of the defence staff. In his own Liberal caucus, Collette withstood the wrath of his colleagues when he closed military bases—and then turned on the military brass by ending their own expensive golfing jaunts in Florida. Decried John Wilton, Collette's former communications director: "The very clear message in the department is that he



Collette with Canadian troops in Bosnia, "a victory with itself"

Collette's Conundrum

The Somalia scandal spreads onto his watch

is there to change things and he is doing it, slowly, bit by bit."

This is not the first clash between an emboldened military culture and the shifting political forces that shape defence policy—but it may well evolve into one of the worst. Ironically, friends of Collette say his underlying shortcoming might be that he trusts too many people—in an environment where loyalty at the top is scarce. Since the withdrawal of the armed forces in 1994, the ranks of Canada's diminished military have reasserted with criticism of the strain caused by the rank and file, and an ill-disputed contempt at the top for the massive waste of civilian bases—among them Collette himself. "By and large the military is a society unto itself," Collette says, "that governs itself and has its own code of justice." According to the minister's staff, no one bothered to alert Collette's office, for instance, that a change in procedure meant outside garnis to the department after 72 hours, instead of 16 months. "There is a tendency for the military to want to deal with matters affecting them by themselves," Collette acknowledged last week.

It is not that Collette thought his job would be easy. One advantage he has in his close relationship with the Prime Minister, whom he supported in both of Chrétien's Liberal leadership races, is that he has the ear of John Turner, who would surely be his worst foe if Collette was also given a portfolio. Collette became minister of state for multiculturalism in 1992, during several lengthy conversations with Collette about the unfolding crisis in the defence department, the Prime Minister assured his minister that he would support his efforts, and his chances. In return, Collette dringled home as many as four large boxes of material to read each night and answered senior officers' and bureaucrats' for daily requests. "It can't be perfect," Collette said last week. "Sometimes you make mistakes, but I'll do the best I can." In the wake of Somalia, even that may not be enough.

E. KYLE FULTON in Ottawa

BY SCOTT TAYLOR

A national defence headquarters in Ottawa last week, demoralized officers openly conducted a betting pool on the expected termination date of Gen. Jean Boyle. A top-secret side wager was also available: would the exasperated chief of the defence staff's bawling departure follow or precede that of Defence Minister Lloyd Goffin? There were no odds on the possibility of Goffin's being shuffled out of Defence—that was considered a given. "We're just trying to make the best of an otherwise terrible situation," said one colonel.

As usual, the crassness of rank within the Canadian Forces. Last week, in an unprecedented move, Boyle ordered that all service members within the department of national defence must conduct a thorough search for the February and March, 1993, radio logs pertaining to the Canadian Airborne's troubled Somalia mission—logs that, as it emerged at the public inquiry hearings into the Somalia debacle, are missing. Even those at sea in the Pacific Ocean are to be searched from top to bottom. But Boyle's search order is a smoke screen in its implication that closely monitored and vital, classified military records could be misplaced and overlooked for the past three years due to clerical negligence. And the fact that the search was ordered after Boyle was himself accused by a senior officer of having altered other key documents is seen by the rank and file as a clumsy attempt on his part to spread the blame.

The allegations of tampering with vital records include deletion made to DND's computerized operations log. When it was first reported on April 1 that critical entries had been deleted or altered, senior crack research by *Exposé de Capis* showed that very few people had the coded access to the highly classified system in fact. Maj. Lloyd Carr, the officer who had managed the electronic log, says that he himself could not have entered the master memory bank—and he claims that no more than 10 senior individuals had such clearance. In his estimation, due to the possibility of tracing each entry by its user's access code, any qualified computer programmer could solve this inquiry in a two-hour session. But instead of announcing a search for a culprit by tracking high-tech footprints in a single bank of computers, Boyle has publicly demanded that everyone scour their wastebaskets. The troops know that this is merely posturing for the media. But the impact of Boyle's directive has been to air all service members with the brazenitude of implied negligence and incompetence.

From September, 1992, until November, 1994, Boyle headed up the military's "special working group" on the Somalia scandal. It was the responsibility of that agency and its successor, the much bigger Somalia Inquiry Liaison Team, also headed by Boyle, to assemble and record all pertinent documents required by the public

inquiry into the Somalia affair. Now, then, can Boyle possibly explain the fact that it was not until 2 1/2 years later, after the inquiry had sorted through the 80,000 documents provided to them by Boyle's liaison team, that it became known that key radio logs were missing? Goffin's has been quick to close ranks with his beleaguered chief of defence. In a series of television interviews, he rejected the suggestion that Boyle be suspended from duty until the allegations against him have been fully investigated by an independent agency. His argument—that one must be presumed innocent until proven guilty in a fair trial—sounds fine. But a closer examination of the circumstances indicates just how out of touch with his department Goffin's has become.

In this case—and it is not the first case—a senior officer is accusing a top official of abusing his authority. What is at issue is the alleged destruction of the very evidence necessary to conduct an open hearing. And Col. Geoffrey Howell—the whistle-blower who accused Boyle, along with former chief of defence staff John de Chastelain and former deputy defence minister Bob Fowler, of

Closing Ranks



Canadian soldiers in Somalia last month. *Associated Press*

Officers have started a betting pool on when Gen. Jean Boyle will be gone

approving the alteration of documents—seems unlikely to receive a fair trial. Instead, he is having the full weight of the military's justice system. Howell has already been disciplined for talking to the media, and he faces seven criminal charges in a court martial. And under the National Defence Act, the military's judge advocate general is not only responsible for the enforcement of military justice, but he is also, by appointment, the personal legal counsel for the chief of the defence staff, Jean Boyle.

To this should be added the demand of secrecy of the Force's code of conduct, which Boyle imposed last week. It then becomes apparent that the fair and open treatment that Goffin's insists the media should afford Boyle is quickly replaced with the enforcement of discipline against those who break the system. Given the startling facts, how can the defence minister and the military continue to believe and maintain that the department still has the integrity to investigate itself, and the authority to pass judgment on its own actions? Even the rank and file realize that the system has failed, and that it is just a matter of time before it collapses. They're putting their money on it. □

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PHILIPS

Scott Taylor, 35, is editor of *Exposé de Capis*, a magazine focusing on military issues that has been called "the voice of the soldier," partly because of its ability to bring top military brass by pursuing military scandals.

THE PRISON SYSTEM:

'Cruel and degrading'



Videotape of the 1994 clash at the Prison for Women (left); Twins and Young: charges of widespread abuse of prisoners



A judge's scathing indictment forces the prison head's resignation

BY SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER

It is a tiny room on the top floor of Kingston, Ont.'s labyrinthine Prison for Women—up a single flight of stairs from the main area where the notorious "huddles" began two years ago—where 13-year-old Young backs her legs up on a wooden chair, waves out a handful of cigarette smoke and breaks into a wide grin. She is eager to talk about a new federal report that contains a blistering attack on her jailer, the Correctional Service of Canada. "I'm happy that the report did not turn a blind eye on the system," says the pale, thin 30-year-old who is serving a 4½-year sentence for assault and breaching orders. "It's all true—we've been telling them that from the start, but nobody believed us."

Young is one of six prisoners who were involved in a brief but violent altercation with a number of guards on April 3, 1994. Ten years in the federal institution had been mounting for months before the incident, which began when Young approached the hospital area and aggressively demanded her prescribed medication. She was quickly joined by the other inmates. Following a physical attack on guards, prison officials took a hard line with the inmates. They immediately placed the women in isolation cells, using Mace to subdue three of them. After four days, the women called in a male Institutional Emergency Response Team to conduct strip searches which, according to protocol, were videotaped. The next day, the inmates were subjected to body cavity searches

Then, on May 6, Young and four of the other women were transferred to Kingston Penitentiary. "It was more months in segregation," recalled Young. "So many disgusting things happened to us with the guard squad and the mental abuse in KJ—we were put in with a bunch of sexual predators, some really dirty men." The women were also denied access to laundry, outside exercise and, for days at a time, not allowed to shower. "It was hell," said Young.

It was also illegal. Last week, after a year of hearings, Justice Louise Arbour of the Ontario Court of Appeal, head of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Events at the Prison for Women in Kingston, vindicated Young and the other inmates. In her report, commissioned by Solicitor General Herb Gray, Arbour attacked prison officials' "ongoing mismanagement of prisoners' legal rights" and their "cruel, inhumane and degrading" treatment of the women. Arbour did not single out and name individuals, but she did state that "the absence of the Rule of Law is most noticeable at the management level, both within the prison and at the regional and national levels. Nor did she limit her criticisms to the Prison for Women; she said the shortcomings were "systemic" and "part of a prison culture" in Canada. Even more damning, she does not trust the correctional service to remedy its own problems. In her scathing report, Arbour concluded that "there is nothing to suggest that the service is either willing or able to reform without judicial guidance and control."

The report led to the immediate resignation of John Edwards, 50, head of the federal prison system since 1989. The solicitor general accepted Edwards' request for "reassignment," the career careerist—who once held a top-level position with national insurance—will remain in his post until a replacement is named. The same day, Gray offered a "heartfelt apology" to the six inmates at the centre of the controversy and said the government is considering financial compensation for the women. The minister also formed a committee to advise him on the implementation of the report's recommendations within six weeks.

The Office of the Correctional Investigator, an independent agency that acts as an ombudsman for prisoners in federal institutions, applauded the judge's conclusions. "Arbour's report is consistent with our findings," said Ed McAfee, executive director of the office. For several years, long before the incident at the Prison for Women, the Correctional Investigator had expressed concerns about the treatment of prisoners—particularly the use of excessive force and segregation and failure to investigate grievances—in annual reports to Parliament.

In fact, the glaring discrepancy between a report on the events at the Prison for Women prepared by the federal ombudsman (which supported the inmates' complaints) and the correctional service's own internal investigation (blameless the officials' handling of the incident) was one of the factors that sparked the inquiry. The public viewing of the videotape, with its disturbing images of the strip search, was an

other "They are serving time in a federal institution, so one has to assume all the top that they are not angels," said McAfee of the prisoners. "But no matter how bad an individual's behavior, that does not absolve the authorities of their responsibility for observing the law."

Last week, correctional service officials bore Arbour's criticisms in staid silence. But corrections officers on the prison ranges in Kingston appeared angry and defensive. "People may think we're all bad," confided one naturally pensive, but on one inmate came back after being out on a parole and reintegrated, she gave me a big hug." A short time later, another officer warned McAfee's not to question guards because "a gag order has come down." Still, one member of the guards union revealed that many feel misunderstood and frustrated by their image as vicious. "There are some pretty vicious women here," he said. "Some are killers—you can't put them in celling boxes."

The mood was more upbeat in the prison gym one afternoon when 30 inmates pulled their stange plastic chairs across the post-green wooden and formed a circle to discuss the Arbour report. "Maybe we should nominate it for best circles of the year," joked Joy Tynes, who was involved in the so-called incident and undertaking a determined effort to force prison officials to release the videotape of the illegal strip search. Kingston lawyer Jo-Ann Connolly and Kim Fife, executive director of the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, had come to the prison to summarize the report for the women and answer their questions—in a frank and open discussion, with no prison officials present, that despite the strong moral support provided by Arbour's report, several of the inmates were worried about a possible backlash by the guards. Some believed that the low turnout—there are 115 women incarcerated at the Prison for Women—was due partly to fear. "The guards are not pleased," said Anita Syrett, a fresh-faced 26-year-old serving time for robbery. "The warden tells us that the staff is stressed out. You can see the tension with a knife. Tomorrow, anybody saying here talking will be treated like a dog."

Many of the inmates believe that Arbour was too lenient with officials who violated prisoners' rights. "Why not give naming names?" asked one dark-haired woman wearing a purple sweater with matching slippers. "The inmates were all punished for what they did." Some argued that the only way to reform prison culture is to change the entire administration. "They should start resigning," says Harriet Lynch, a 35-year-old former teacher who has spent nearly 10 years in the prison for the second-degree murder of her husband. "How do you allow people to manage prisons and play a role in rehabilitation when they have openly admitted they broke the law?" But many of the women are skeptical that the report will lead to real change. And without videotapes—the indisputable evidence that resulted in a federal inquiry—many feel that their complaints will continue to be ignored. "I get it as an alternative with a guard, who do you think will be believed?" asked the woman in purple slippers. "My word means up and in the grievance procedure, it's still my word against the officer's word." The cynicism runs deep. "I'll be here for 15 years," said one prisoner. "Will I ever see a difference?"

CLEANING UP THE SYSTEM

Among Justice Louise Arbour's recommendations:

- Women who were strip-searched by male guards and kept in prolonged segregation afterwards should be compensated.
- The conditional service should be subject to the same kind of public scrutiny as the police and courts.
- Male inmates' responses should never be displayed in an institution for women.

There is a new, clear focus on

women," Pale told the group. "Instead of always leaving women as a second priority, Arbour encouraged the correctional service to put them front and centre." But Pale admitted that some of the inmates' concerns about the implementation of the report's recommendations are justified. "It's my fear that it will take years," said the lawyer and longtime prosecutor adviser. And she added, Arbour's recommendation that women should have access to the courts "in principle is excellent—but in practice, I wonder how they will exercise that right. Can they get to a phone? They need the resources to pay a lawyer. And the women have to know that they have that right."

And while the prisoners from the Arbour report on civil suits raised Canadian legal responsibility for them. "There were more victims here than just the inmates," said Steve Sullivan, executive director of the Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime in Ottawa, who nevertheless agrees with much of Arbour's report. "They were kept in segregation too long and that is inexcusable. But our biggest concern is the heartfelt apology of Herb Gray—I've got a file bursting with names of families of women, who suffered when corrections or the parole board screwed up, who would like an apology."

But for Young, the mother of two children aged 10 and 12, Gray's apology came "a little too late." And she and several other women are suing the government for punitive damages. "We are not asking a token amount," said Dan Scully, a lawyer representing Young and two other inmates. "When what Justice Arbour recommended, I would expect that the courts would not award a token amount." But Young, who grew up in one of Toronto's toughest neighborhoods, does not expect much beyond financial compensation. "I appreciate what the judge did," she said, "but I have no faith in the system. It will never change."

One change, however, is certain: The much-debated, 62-year-old Prison for Women will close its doors in October as part of a larger restructuring that began in 1989. Canada's 280 female convicts serving sentences longer than two years, some of them now housed in provincial institutions, will be relocated to six regional centers across the country by the end of this year—centers that are intended to be more humane. They include the Grand Valley Institution for Women in Kitchener, Ont., where cottage-style housing will replace heavy concrete. "Guards listen too much as if you are a child," says Lynn Lynch. "Some think we haven't been in jail. It's to be treated like a real person." The few inmate winners and prisoners' rights advocates, though, in that new facilities will do nothing to change old attitudes.

'A COMMON TOUCH'

Justice Louise Arbour of the Ontario Court of Appeal is a rarity among jurists: with virtual unanimity, colleagues, friends and even those who follow her work from a distance describe her with unalloyed admiration. She is, they say, a tough-minded judge who also has a strong capacity for empathy and tact. They marvel at her ability to combine principle with practicality, and praise her reputation for fairness. Labels like liberal or conservative just do not fit, they say. Last week, Canadians not used to seeing lengthy judgments got a first-hand taste of what many lawyers say is vintage Arbour. As head of the year-long inquiry into disciplinary incidents at the Kingston Prison for Women, she flayed the correctional service for the mistreatment of inmates, even though public opinion is swinging strongly behind post-1985 measures in Canada's prisons. "She is not afraid to make a tough call," says Osgoode Hall Law School Prof. Harry Arthur, who was dean when Osgoode hired Arbour in 1974. "But she is saved from prosecutors by a common touch. She has the star quality to be a member of the Supreme Court of Canada."

That is not an unlikely scenario. During her career at Osgoode, Arbour, now 49, gained a reputation as an energetic leader who could communicate difficult material and tell jokes at the same time. She also acted as vice-president and counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, where she defended restrictions on the so-called rape shield law. To the chagrin of many women, Arbour argued that the 1985 law, which severely restricted the ability of defence lawyers to question complainants about their sexual past, could exclude relevant evidence and lead to the conviction of innocent men. "She was absolutely breathtaking in the case she took to reach that position," recalls journalist Lyle Callwood, who was also a vice-president of the association. In 1991, the Supreme Court of Canada agreed and struck down part of the law as unconstitutional.

She was appointed to the Supreme Court of Ontario in 1987 and elevated to the Court of Appeal in 1990. Her decisions on social issues tend to make waves, such as the 1995 judgment ordering an Ontario school board to educate a disabled child in a regular classroom, instead of in a segregated class. And as what is widely viewed as the legal community's a shining achievement, the United Nations recently appointed her chief prosecutor of the international tribunal to try war criminals in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. She will take up that post in October.

Arbour brings a wide range of knowledge and personal contacts to that job. Born in Montreal and educated at the University of Montreal, she is one of the few women in both the civil and common law traditions. She was a law clerk at the Supreme Court of Canada, a position generally reserved for the most outstanding students. It was there that she met her longtime partner, Larry Tarnan, also a former professor at Osgoode and now deputy attorney general at Ontario. Friends say her English was better at best when the two met, but that she rapidly became thoroughly proficient. Tarnan learned French at the same time. They have two daughters and a son, all bilingual. Friends say Arbour plans to raise her children with her for as much part of the time she is in The Hague, where the tribunal is based. Tarnan, himself the centre of controversy as Premier Mike Harris embarks on sweeping cuts to the justice system, says that he plans to stay on as deputy attorney general. For both, the next few years will be interesting times indeed.

Arbour combines principle and practicality



Arbour, an energetic leader

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NEWSWORLD



Kingston Penitentiary: injustices

CANADA SPECIAL REPORT

Secrets behind the walls

ESSAY

BY KEVIN MARSH

Shortly before the release of the report that precipitated his resignation last week as commissioner of the correctional service, John Edwards delivered what would be his last message to the 10,500 employees of Canada's beleaguered prison system. Writing in the prison staff publication *Let's Talk*, Edwards complained that the service was making too many mistakes. A chief public servant who maintained that Canada's prison service was one of the best in the world, Edwards expressed frustration over the fact that employees had trouble following rules and directives. His comments anticipated Justice Louise Arbour's distancing statement of a prison culture that she found lacking at all levels to respect the spirit and letter of the law. Edwards recognized, as did Arbour, that the shocking events at the

Prison for Women in Kingston, Ont., were symptoms of a far wider problem. As he told employees in his newsletter article: "It would be comforting to think that these errors were limited to mistakes among us in the Prison for Women during 1994 but, based on three years of ongoing investigations, audits and other reports, I am convinced this is not so."

What Edwards described as errors may be seen by others as injustices. But it is widely acknowledged on both sides of the prison walls that there is a crisis in Canada's correctional system, brought to a head by overcrowding, understaffing and the escalating tensions of a violent prison environment. At its root lies a set of conflicting attitudes and mixed messages that exist both inside and outside a service that is expected, at the same time, to punish and rehabilitate while treating prisoners fairly and keeping them under control.

The commissioner's frankness about the system's mistakes was such a departure of an organization that is often accused of

seeking to escape public scrutiny by hiding its abuses behind prison walls. The culture of secrecy is so embedded in the prison system that Edwards himself tried to protect his staff by opposing the release of the riot squad videotape last year, even though he subsequently admitted that he knew what it showed was very wrong. And that was despite the fact that Edwards and other senior staff had been intensively striving to make the prison service more open and accountable, less punitive and more respectful of human rights. "The public still see us as a paternalistic, semi-military bunch of thugs. And on a bad day, we're everything you think we are," senior correctional services administrator Tom Epp explained in an interview a few months after the Prison for Women riot and strip search.

Shocking though the incidents depicted on the videotape were, critics of the prison system see them as part of a pattern of abuse and injustice that prison staff usually cover up more successfully. As Kim Pate,

executive director of the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, puts it: "The message was that the tape was released, not what happened." Pate says that women are strip-searched on a regular basis with out due cause, albeit by female guards, at the new Edmonton women's prison, where tensions have contributed to one suicide, two attempted suicides, numerous slash cuts and two assaults on staff in the few months that it has been open.

In men's prisons, staff routinely use Mace and physical force to restrain inmates, conduct strip searches and remove prisoners from their cells. Rules and regulations govern the circumstances in which such actions may be taken and the way in which they are carried out. But Edwards pointed out in his newsletter column that staff sometimes ignore rules because they see them as unrealistic, believe that they can be applied in a flexible manner, or perhaps do not understand them properly because of inadequate training.

Prison guards, exposed to violence and abuse on a daily basis, often express cynicism about the ideals of justice and rehabilitation. They are also concerned about their own safety. Kim Wiley, national vice-president of the Union of Solicitor General Employees and a guard at the notoriously violent Millhaven Penitentiary near Kingston, has doubts about the practical application of Arbour's recommendations regarding the rights of prisoners. For example, Wiley asks, "Can you help me devise a way to safely approach a violent inmate, whom you've just Maced and shackled, and give him a phone without him cracking you on the head or throwing you in your face?" And while he concedes that there are ways of solving many chronic problems, Wiley maintains that Arbour was "out of touch with reality" in proposing that no prisoner be held in segregation for more than 90 days in any one year. He claims that prisoners are placed in segregation more than they should be in other cases. Wiley says that "we have people who are bad for years, not just for 90 days."

Prisoners can file complaints and they have the right to be heard in what inmates widely regard, perhaps unfairly, as a "kangaroo court" within the prison. But it is always their word against that of the guards. Prisoners' appeals against disciplinary decisions seldom find their way through the Correctional Service bureaucracy until long after the punishment that the prisoner is appealing against has been imposed.



Cell block and cell at Millhaven: a culture of secrecy in the system

fleets. The 2001 death of Kingston Penitentiary prisoner Robert Gieslin, suffocated while being sprayed with Mace and forcibly removed from his cell, was unique in Canadian penal history in that it resulted in criminal charges being laid against prison guards. But that prosecution was subsequently abandoned because publiclegals disagreed on how he suffocated.

Michael Jackson, a professor of law at the University of British Columbia who has been studying the use of segregation in Canadian prisons for many years, says that "the problem is not that there are brutal

wardens or untrained guards, but that they have a perspective in which respect for human rights is not the centerpiece of their activity." As a result, Jackson explains, prisoners suffer from "the accumulated abuses of the daily practice of iniquity," while "the sentence is administered in a way that doesn't respect the very loss that the prisoners were convicted of violating."

The correctional system gives prisoners the contradictory message that they have legal rights but they cannot respect them to be en-

forced. Meanwhile, guards receive mixed messages from an administration that expects employees to follow a myriad of rules and regulations, but covers up for them when they fail to comply with the law.

Guards, administrators and even many prisoners agree, however, that their problems cannot be solved in isolation. Public attitudes matter the conflict in the prison system between punitive attitudes and the ideals of justice or rehabilitation. Members of the public respond with outrage to abusive treatment, but many are also alarmed by stories about prisoners enjoying relatively comfortable conditions or concerns that dangerous offenders might be released. Public opinion, law enforcement practices and government policies all result in escalating prison populations without any corresponding increase in resources.

In his newsletter column, Edwards questioned whether the correctional service was setting unrealistic standards for its employees. He promised to discuss his concerns with union members and administrative staff. The release of the Arbour commission report has ensured that discussion of what should be expected of the prison system and how it should be managed will no longer be confined behind prison walls. □



Edwards anchors editorial frankness

Kevin Marsh, 46, has written widely on prison issues. His latest book, *The Shameless: The Crisis in Canada's Prison System*, has just been published by Doubleday Canada Ltd.

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**NEWFOUNDLAND
& LABRADOR**

Fatal
rage

Karsani and Darshan Galsbal had high hopes for the wedding, the third for their string of five daughters and a son. The Sikh family's last marriage, two years ago, had ended nearly daughter Rajwa had broken up with her husband, Vijay (Merlo) Chahal, after barely six months, complaining that he abused her. The Galsbals hoped things would go differently for her younger sister Balwinder, who was to be wed on Saturday to a young engineer from Toronto. And the family was doing its best to prepare for the occasion: Inside the comfortable two-story home, with its views over Vernon Creek to the quiet B.C. farming and logging town of the same name, Darshan and her daughters were getting ready to receive more than 200 people at a post-wedding reception. Outside, the Friday morning car was full and ruff as Karsani sat alone, watching the new red Mazda Proteca parked proudly in the triple driveway. Then, moments before 11:30 a.m., a dark green minivan pulled up to the curb—and the weekend's promise turned suddenly to horror.

Stepping from the minivan, Mark Chahal, 38, leveled a 40-caliber Smith and Wesson semi-automatic—five of two pistols he was carrying—and fired. Karsani, Galsbal's 48, fully married, was the Mazda's right front tire, blood streaming down the engine door towards the street. Chahal fired again—this time through a bay window at the front of the house—then strode up the front steps and went inside. He walked from room to room repeatedly firing both weapons, pausing twice to shove from 10-milid clips into the semi-automatic. "I heard gunshots and screaming," said nearby resident Chantal Boudreau. "I woke up once up and I told her." Then, the muscular youngster called police. With local RCMP already

In a few terrifying minutes, Vijay Chahal proved just how deadly his anger could be

The night where Chahal committed suicide carnage



Police with one of the bodies; gunshots and screaming

on the way, Chahal walked out of the Galsbal house and passed to leave a few more rounds into its large riding. Stepping into his metal van, he calmly buckled his seat belt and departed.

When the first police officers arrived moments later, they encountered a scene of carnage rarely equaled in Canada. In addition to Karsani, 58, five more people lay dead, including Darshan, 45, Rajwa, 26, and the bride-to-be, Balwinder, 24. Another five were bleeding heavily from multiple gunshot wounds. Three of them died later. In less than five minutes, Chahal had wiped out the entire Galsbal family, including younger daughters Kuldinder, 21, and Haininder, 17, as well as the only son, 14-year-old Jas. The couple's oldest daughter, Jasbir, 30, and her husband Rajat Saran, 33, were also among the dead. One of Jasbir's three young daughters, 10-year-old Jundish, had a bullet wound through both thighs. Saran's 16-year-old mother, Gurnani, had also been injured, but a bullet in her face it was the second-worst shooting rampage in Canadian history, re-

corded only by Mass Lepine's savage blast through the halls of a Montreal engineering institute in 1988.

And like Lepine, Chahal could not live with what he had done. Police later concluded that his attack had been planned with an escape in mind. Nevertheless, after the killings he drove barely three kilometers to a second-floor room at the Globe Motel, just off Vernon's main street, where he had checked in the previous evening as "M. Singh." There, Chahal pressed a busy note apologizing to his family for what he chose and leaving police several telephone numbers with which they could reach his next of kin. Fondly, he dated and signed for mail, adding that police could find his residence in the pocket of his pants. Just before 11 a.m., he fired the semi-automatic one last time—into his own head. Police, responding to a call from motel staff, found Chahal dead on the floor in his van, they found a dead woman, a 22-gauge pump-action shotgun.

For Vernon's 60,000 residents, among them about 150 Sikh families, the morning's events were a shocking introduction to the violence that seems increasingly to erupt from family break-downs across Canada. "Our community is in a state of deep shock," a southern Vernon report, Wayne McGrath, told a news conference the day after the shootings. Ron Shuster, a superintendent at the Toluca Forest Products Ltd. sawmill in neighboring Langview, where Karsani Galsbal had worked for 30 years, said the tragedy "is going to shake the whole community up." Galsbal, who operated a planing machine, had been "a friendly sort of fellow," Shuster recalled. "Quiet, reliable, a good employee."

Among the town's close-knit Sikh community, the shock and trauma were even greater. Members of the community knew Karsani Galsbal well. Shortly after arriving in Vernon from

DEATHS IN THE FAMILY

A partial list of murder-suicides in the past year

- JAN. 23, 1996 — **MAHON MAHER, 35**, of Drummondville, Que., kills her son, her daughter and herself.
- JAN. 12, 1996 — **KENNETH BARR, 45**, shoots his wife and her blood, then himself, in Lanark, Ont.
- JAN. 6, 1996 — **JAMES HUANG, 45**, kills his wife, two daughters and his mother in Surrey, B.C., before killing himself.
- DEC. 32, 1995 — **IAN BROWN, 26**, of Ottawa kills his wife, two children and himself.
- DEC. 6, 1995 — **LYNN CLEMENTS, 30**, shoots his wife and a friend in North Choc, N.S., before killing himself.
- NOV. 2, 1995 — **ISAAC WIELER, 32**, of La Certe, Alta., shoots his wife and her mother, then himself.
- JUNE 12, 1995 — **JOSEPH JEANNOT, 32**, of Guelph, Ont., kills his wife, a daughter and himself.
- APRIL 26, 1995 — **CLEMENT MERCIER, 54**, of Ste-Marie-de-Beauce, Que., kills his daughter and the local police chief before hanging himself.

Pasqu, Indes, he had helped to establish the town's first Sikh temple. Balwinder's wedding, like Rajwa's, had been planned for a newer white stucco structure that in 1988 replaced the older house of worship, less than a kilometre from the family home in the town of Vernon's progressive middle-class Vernon Hill district.

In the wake of the tragedy, the temple itself became a place of mourning. As dusk fell on April 5, the traditional Sikh rite of beloved friends and relatives filled the building. Throughout the following day, members of the congregation held a vigil for wedding guests, some of whom did not learn about the tragedy until they arrived in Vernon. (The guests, whose names were withheld by family members, had received the shocking news while en route from Ontario.) "We are gathering together, talking, preparing hot meals as they will have some comfort," said temple president Sarwant Dhillon. "Everybody is in shock. We don't know what to think."

For so many was the shock greater due to the Galsbals' immediate relatives. They had known that Chahal harbored a grudge against his estranged wife and family since January, 1995, Karsani visited Vernon RCMP to file a complaint that Chahal had threatened her, but after requested that the police take no action against him. Still, Chahal's animosity was common knowledge among relatives. "We told them he was going to make sure none of our other daughters would ever get married," Balwinder Galsbal, the wife of Karsani's cousin Tarlok, told Markon's "Nobody laughed he would be capable of doing this." In a few terrifying minutes, with just a week to go before the 50th birthday of Balwinder, which celebrates the revelation of the five symbols of Sikhism, Vijay Chahal proved just how deadly his rage could be.



CHERRY WOOD in Vernon

Desperately seeking a way out of the GST

It was an encounter between Finance Minister Paul Martin and some of his toughest critics on the Goods and Services Tax—his own caucus members. In two separate sessions on March 27, Martin delivered a special briefing to Liberal MPs on his progress in keeping his party's promise to "replace" the despised GST before the next election. The MPs were impatient, frustrated and peeved. But as Martin pointed out when he summarized their 39 suggestions, they almost agree on an alternative. Some simply want to abolish it—and forfeit nearly \$38 billion in annual revenue. Others want to replace the lost revenue with a surtax on personal income, hikes in corporate or payroll taxes, or a personal expenditure tax. In the end, after hours of fruitless debate, the MPs merely agreed to continue Ottawa's drive to harmonize the GST with provincial sales taxes. But few left the meetings feeling content—or secure. As Ontario Liberal MP Carolyn Parrish told Martin's "We could get killed by the Reform party if we don't get our act together. Half the room is going to be hard to win, especially if we don't do something about the GST."

The spectre of Reform candidates winning copies of the Liberals' broken promise has cut new urgency into their drive to do something, anything, about the GST. Before the end of April, Martin hopes that the four Atlantic provinces will agree to harmonize their sales taxes with the GST, just as Quebec did in 1991. But apart from that, Martin has made pitifully small progress. Ontario, which accounts for almost 40 per cent of all economic activity in Canada, is angry about Ottawa's tendency to punish Ontario taxpayers in order to transfer funds to poorer provinces. As a result, Madison has learned, Ontario is stalling on GST returns until Ottawa deals seriously with its complaints. Taxes with no going and backslows are going nowhere. Alberta adamantly opposes any sales tax. And British Columbia's NDP government will not even consider the transfer on the brink of a provincial election. As a senior federal finance department official ruefully remarked: "It's a big uphill battle because it's a big, big change."

The enormity of that change has already left many consumer and business groups with decidedly mixed feelings. The introduction of the GST on Jan. 1, 1991, was an economic nightmare, overnight, Canada became the only country in the world with two separate sales tax regimes. Illustration:



Anti-GST protest in 1990 on Parliament Hill. Martin (left) solicited promises

Paul Martin faces a battle to replace the controversial sales tax

one would undo the GST with the provincial sales taxes so there would be one basic set of rules, one collector and one single rate of either 14 or 12 per cent on each province; that there are problems like the GST, the PST would apply to services. Consumers would quickly find themselves paying more tax on everything from haircuts to legal fees. As Catherine Swell, president of

the 87,000-member Canadian Federation of Independent Business, puts it: "There is no black-and-white answer on this. Part of the problem is that if you don't get something right at the outset, people get used to the devil that they know."

The devil that they know is a monster. Each PST has a different base, with rates ranging from 12 per cent in Newfoundland to seven per cent in Manitoba and British Columbia (the exception is Alberta, which has no PST). The GST, in turn, applies to a different base than each PST. It hits all children's clothing, for example, while the provinces offer exemptions. In a last-minute report last December, the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants calculated that Ottawa spends \$200 million each year to administer the GST—and the provinces spend another \$100 million to collect their own sales taxes. Businesses, in turn, spend a staggering \$694 million to \$2.2 billion to comply with the GST—and \$400 million to \$700 million to collect provincial sales taxes. "What we have is an absurdity," says David Perry, senior research associate at the Canadian Tax Foundation. "It has to be changed."

In theory, Ottawa's proposed changes would be beneficial to the economy. The chartered accountants' report calculated that governments and businesses could save at least \$500 million each year in administrative and compliance costs with a single national sales tax system. In addition, businesses could lower their production costs because they would not have to wrestle with layers of PST charges. Theoretically, Canadian exports would be more competitive and consumers would pay less for domestic goods.

Still, in the short term, few consumers would thank their governments. It would be months, perhaps years, before the full business savings trickled into lower product prices. Meanwhile, consumers would face PST as services, which now constitute 85 per cent of the value of the economy. Every service from manicures to pet grooming would cost more. Marlene McCall, policy research director at the Consumers' Association of Canada, notes that harmonization would likely in-



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crease the tax burden on most middle-income Canadians. Ottawa's plan would also preserve all of the current GST exemptions such as food, which have turned the GST into an accounting horror. Said McGill: "If we have to have consumption taxes, we should tax everything, including food, at the lowest possible rate, and provide rebates for lower-income people."

To placate consumers, Ottawa is trying to lower provincial rates. But that attempt could stretch the generosity of richer provinces to the breaking point. In Atlantic Canada, Ottawa has proposed a combined 15-per-cent national sales tax; that is, 10-per-cent GST and eight-per-cent PST. But the four provinces' sales taxes are all higher than that, starting at 30 per cent in Prince Edward Island. As a result, even though the provinces would slap new taxes on consumers, they would lose money because of the lower over 10-mo and business deductions. As partial compensation, Ottawa has offered \$1 billion over the next three years—another transfer from general revenues to poorer governments. As University of Alberta economist Ren Smeets warns: "It does seem a rather less well thought out approach than the Liberals' proposals take the hardest pressed region and offer inducements."

It will take more than money to placate Ontario. Under harmonization, that province would collect up to \$2.5 billion more than it now gets from its eight-per-cent PST. It could reinvest some of the extra per cent and still make the same amount of money. But Ontario is determined to extract the maximum reward for going along with Ottawa's proposals. Provincial officials point out that federal transfers provide less than 10 per cent to richer provinces than to poorer ones for social programs. Ottawa, they say, is simply treating as a cash cow for such programs as Employment Insurance. Moreover, the province is furious about Justice Minister Allan Rock's recent warning that Ontario's social welfare cuts mean "you take a chance with your safety on the street." In response, a senior Ontario official told *Maclean's*: "Rock's comments were offensive. First, they cost their payments to us. Then they start attacking us when we, in fact, have to cut. There are a lot of concerned issues you cannot solve the GST without looking at them."

For the Liberals, such talk provides fuel for their Ontario's participation. It will be extremely difficult to convince the west and provinces that harmonization is worth the price paid. Ontario MP Patrick says that Ottawa is "telling Quebec for a miracle." Barring such an event, the Liberals may be stuck with large payments to Atlantic Canada, consumer wrath and a province still largely unaffiliated.

MARTY ANSGAN



Chrétien's new unity offensive

The Liberals would like to cement a deal by October

Since the No forces almost lost the Quebec referendum on sovereignty last October, the federal Liberals have been jittery about the national unity issue. In their anxious view, anything that can go wrong will go wrong. So they have been drawing the blueprint of the constitutional requirement that Ottawa and the provinces must convene a conference before April 17, 1997, to review the amending formula. The Liberals fear that if the conference breaks up in acrimonious disagreement, their prospects of any subsequent election would be damaged. Such concerns have led some backroom strategists to consider an early election this fall, before the conference. As Liberal MP David Walker recently stated: "The April 17 deadline is there. Do you want to leap into it or leap out of it?"

A solution may be at hand. Maclean's has learned that the Liberals want to hold that constitutional conference this fall—if they can get agreement on the outlines of a basic package at a First Ministers' meeting in June. They figure that the best opportunity for change will come in the fall, after a provincial election in British Columbia and

Chrétien, their anxiety: meeting in June, formal conference in the fall

before Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard holds his second socio-economic conference in late October. They reason that British Columbia's New Democratic Party government is unlikely to agree to any controversial arrangements on national unity before an election—which it must call before mid-October. And they would like to have agreement on a package of nonconstitutional changes before Bouchard meets again with labour and business leaders and social activists. As a Liberal insider told *Maclean's*: "The earlier that one can begin to move towards a consensus, the better. The timetable would be to do something prior to Bouchard's summit that would capture the attention of Quebecers."

That plan is already under way. In the speech from the throne on Feb. 27, Ottawa promised to hold a First Ministers' meeting to discuss job creation, the security of the social safety net and "how to put into place a consensus agenda for change to renew Canada." That conference is now tentatively scheduled for late June. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien has already quietly sounded out most provinces on a package of nonconstitutional changes. These include a resolution to recognize Quebec's unique culture, language and civil law tradition (the phrase "distinct society" has been dropped because it evokes too much controversy).

The provinces will have to agree to changes to the division of powers, including the creation of a Canadian securities commission that would replace provincial commissions. And they may be asked to adopt Ottawa's latest nonconstitutional amending formula: that is, they would agree to pass resolutions proclaiming that all five regions—Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, the Prairies and the Atlantic region—must agree to any constitutional amendment before it is adopted.

Liberals leaders say that Chrétien hopes to reach agreement on the basis of this package at the June summit. If that happens, Ottawa will call a formal constitutional conference for early October—as long as the B.C. election is over. Its constitutional obligations would then be fulfilled. If the provinces cannot agree on a tentative package, the Liberals could still call an early election. "That obviously carries a high element of risk," said one insider. "That everything is up in the air. There is no crystallized federal strategy. And there is no consensus yet among the First Ministers."

M.L.

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CANADA

SCOTCH POND, B.C.

'How will they survive?'

It looks more like a picture postcard than a working harbor. A blue horizon stands amid cattails and bulrushes. Wild blackberry bushes dot the shores. Drowned, the cross of gulls compete with the melodies of songbirds as the midday sun glimmers off bobbing masts. There are other places to be up in Skowkoke, a fishing village about 20 km south of downtown Vancouver, in three main rooms: at, after all, home to some 650 vessels, making it the largest commercial fishing harbor in British Columbia. But the bigger ships that line the berths along the South Arm of the Fraser River are hardly as serene as the one at tiny Scotch Pond, a designated heritage fishing co-operative with three dozen members, all independent owner-operators.

Among them is Don Taylor, who, at age 70, still gifts for salmon from his 35-foot aluminum hulled boat, the cleverly named Taylor Mad. A gentle, soft-spoken man, Taylor has seen many ups and downs in his 48 years in the fishing business. But ask him about Ottawa's latest plan to revitalize the B.C. salmon fishery, and his anger threatens to shatter Scotch Pond's striking tranquility. "What has happened here has happened because of the federal government," he says bitterly. "And we are the ones who are going to have to bear the brunt of all these mistakes."

Taylor acknowledges that the West Coast salmon fishery is in deep trouble. Last season, he says, in addition to his Canada Pension and Old Age Security benefits, he took home only \$7,000 from his catch—compared with \$25,000 just one year ago. Like almost everyone in the B.C. fishing industry, Taylor agrees the current problem is that too many fishermen with too much money tied up in costly licenses and sophisticated equipment are chasing too few fish. Fishermen blame declining salmon returns on habitat being damaged by logging, and on higher ocean temperatures caused by the so-called El Niño effect that have brought about an overabundance of predators such as mackerel. This year, catches returns on the Fraser are expected to be so low that a complete ban on commercial fishing is likely.

But while Taylor agrees that something had to be done to keep the B.C. salmon fishery viable, he and other Skowkoke fishermen are incensed by Ottawa's handling of the problem. On March 26, Fisheries Minister Fred Mullan announced plans to slash the West Coast salmon fleet by half. And to get the process started, Mullan unveiled an \$80-million voluntary license retirement program. Under a reverse-auction system, fishermen have until June to submit an offer to sell their

Taylor: "we are the ones who bear the brunt of all of Ottawa's mistakes"

licenses—now restricted in number but freely bought and sold on the open market—back to the government, which will accept the lowest bids.

Taylor's boat—valued at \$150,000—has been for sale for the past year. But given the current state of the fishery, he has not had a single bite. Now facing retirement, Taylor worries that he will be unable to get a decent price. "I stood to take a real beating if I just sell my license to the government," he says. "I'm not going to let them have it for nothing." His voice rising slightly, he adds, "And if I sell my license, what do I do with my boat? They are the ones who are responsible for building the fleet up, and now they're saying to us, 'We're not throwing any money in, you've got to reduce the fleet.' It's bloody unfair."

Many British Columbia fishermen are convinced that the B.C. fishery is being treated unfairly by Ottawa. "Federal support for out-of-work salmon workers is nowhere near the \$2.5 billion they've allocated to the Maritime and cruise since 1990," Brynner Glen Clark, an alder with Mullan's announcement. "The estimated loss of more than 4,000 salmon jobs could devastate our coastal fishing communities, and yet federal officials say there will be no new funding to address the salmon crisis."

A crisis mounts in the B.C. fishery

Unrisk, in addition to the bumpy sales, Ottawa is introducing major licensing changes. Under so-called area licensing, fishing permits—which previously allowed holders to ply the entire coast—will now restrict them to specific areas. Each license holder must choose a single area and stay there permanently. And, starting next year, fishermen will no longer be allowed to freely change the sort of fishing gear they use. Instead, they will have to register themselves to use gear types. But under a controversial program known as "license stacking," a single vessel will be permitted to fish more than one area or use different types of gear if its owner purchases the appropriate licenses from people leaving the industry.

That has some critics complaining that

Ottawa's policy favors the wealthy. "Small, independent owner-operators and certainly all of the crewmen that currently make up the industry are going to be seriously disadvantaged," argues Dennis Brown, vice-president of the Vancouver-based United Fishermen & Allied Workers' Union. Given the cyclical nature of salmon returns, says Brown, only those who can stack their licenses are likely to survive—and that is something the average fisherman cannot afford to do. "The small guy has got a great bullet aimed at his head here," says Brown.

That opinion is echoed by fishermen on Scotch Pond. "It's on a pension," says Taylor with resignation. "I'll pick one area and take what comes. But the younger people raising families who want to get a mortgage will have to live another lifetime in another area to fish. If they haven't got the money, they're going to be forced out. I don't know how the hell they are going to survive."

Like Taylor, Josef Bauer worries that small coastal fishing communities will be hardest hit. "The old days have all passed, it's an economic crisis," says Bauer, 58, a solid man with a bushy salt-and-pepper beard who has been fishing in his home town of Skeena since he was a teen. He blames the current crisis on the government's policy of limiting licenses, while allowing existing permits to be bought and sold like commodities. "The money in the last few years has been in speculation, not in the actual catching of fish," he says. "If they had licensed fishermen individually, like professional sports, you would have had people in it who lived as a lifestyle—not those who were in it to speculate on how much they could get for flipping a licence and interested in raking the money."

For his part, Taylor says that the salmon industry will rebound only when Ottawa is prepared to ask more money and manpower into protecting spawning streams. "You can cut out all the commercial fishermen and all the sports fishermen and you are still going to lose your fish if you don't look after your habitat," he warns. "We can't destroy the rivers where they spawn and expect to have fish. Once they are gone, they are gone forever." Meanwhile, the veteran fishermen has begun to rethink British Columbia's place in Confederation. "There is a small but growing separatist movement in this province," he says, "and I've got to tell you that if there was a referendum tomorrow, I wouldn't be the only fisherman to vote to leave Canada. You can quit me on that."

SCOTT HERBIE



Backstage Ottawa

Requiem for the Tories

If Kim Campbell did not exist, it can now be said, the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada would be sure not to invent her. They tried that once before in the 1993 election, when they built a campaign that suggested she was bright, visionary, charming and ready to lead the country into the new millennium. On those issues, Campbell and senior Tory strategists agreed. Millions of Canadians did not. In the wake of the Tories' fall from power and grace, several strategists, such as pollster Allan Gregg and party president John Gery, took full responsibility for the debacle. Again, Campbell and the strategists agreed in the excerpt published last week from her upcoming memoirs. She makes clear that they, not she, should bear the blame. Perhaps, after all, those strategists and Campbell had the right idea in the Victoria Speeches: It's Not My Fault, certainly that characterizes the 1990s. Campbell might have been the perfect leader.

But Canadians will never know that, just as it appears increasingly likely they will not get to know what kind of prime minister her successor, Jean Charest, would make. Not, at any rate, in this referendum. The Tories, like the parties in the recent *Money Politics* sketch, may claim to be just resting, not dead, but it is increasingly hard to tell the difference. One sign of that is the recent call by Charest's supposed friend and ally, Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, for the federal Tories and Reform party to merge.

Charest spent last week in Victoria with his family, presumably pondering both the beach and his party's options. The family was seeing the latter at last. If the Tories and Reform do not merge before the next election, it is virtually certain the Liberals will be re-elected. If they merge, the result will not be such a difference. Canada has two fiscally conservative, socially moderate anti-mainstream political parties that believe, among other things, in the GST (by that or any other name), free trade, bilingualism, brotherhood and electing the Quebec vote. Those are the Tories and the Liberals. To pressure that they not vote would amount to cause to Reform in

the event of a merger just because both are described as right-wing is like promising that anyone who Moss Sideles will automatically like Soap Doggy Doggy just because both had claim to be musical composers. Reform would get some voters, the Liberals the rest in the Tories' weakened state, whether they run at all won't likely matter.

Political parties do frequently, and sometimes quite suddenly. The Social Credit party ruled British Columbia for most of the second half of this century, and then died (as all but name). Little Quebec's Union Nationale and the Blocs of Quebec. The Tories without Charest is a party with a serious

life just and a questionable future. Soon, he may have to decide which matters more: his own future, or that of the party. He has a young family, and his wife, Michelle Dionne, would be horrified if he took one of the lucrative law practice offers that periodically come his way. Similarly, the Quebec provincial Liberals would welcome him in a heartbeat.

Charest's friend Daniel Johnson loved of the leadership (or, for that matter, if he didn't) Robert Bourassa, still a significant—if only—force in Quebec politics, regularly tells friends that if Johnson loves, Charest is the man for the job. Jean Charest at a private dinner at 24 Sussex Drive three days after last October's sovereignty referendum, obviously suggested much the same thing to Charest—making that one of the few things Bourassa and Charest agree on. The only trouble is that, at this juncture, finding the provincial Liberals' support for Charest is only marginally more promising than finding the federal Tories.

Charest is no quitter, and leaving the Tory leadership would run against the grain that he has a son to settle with Bourassa who, he feels, badly betrayed him in 2000 by encouraging him to take the chairmanship of a committee on the March 28th constitutional accord, and then denouncing its conclusions. If Charest was to leave the fight on behalf of the Tories, it would likely be to undertake another in Quebec on behalf of Jean-Jacques. Whichever he eventually goes, federalists of all stripes would hope that it is not use for him from active politics.

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Canada NOTES

LANGUAGE COMPROMISES

Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard waded in cautiously on the issue of language rights. Bouchard rejected demands by some nationalists to outlaw the use of bilingual signs, opting instead for tougher enforcement against signs where English predominates or is the only language used. He also introduced changes that will allow parents who move to Quebec on a temporary basis to enroll their children in English-speaking schools regardless of the length of their stay in the province. Previously, the maximum stay was six years.

FULTON WINS BACKING

A review commissioned by the Alberta government concluded that the province's deputy health minister, Jane Fulton, had overstated some of her qualifications, but that her "basic credentials were sound." Among the discrepancies: Fulton was only an associate professor who was invited to speak at several major American universities and not, as she had claimed, a visiting professor at those institutions. Premier Ralph Klein said that he was standing behind Fulton, who came under fire in February when *The Globe and Mail* alleged that she had fudged her résumé. Fulton has said she intends to sue the newspaper.

MANITOBA'S SURPLUS

Manitoba Finance Minister Eric Stefanson tabled his 1996-1997 budget, saying that he expected a \$20-billion surplus—Manitoba's second in a row, said Stefanson. "We now have the lowest-cost government in Canada."

BERNARDO TAPES RULING

Ontario Court general division Justice Patrick Gosselin ruled that videotapes showing the rape and torture of Kristen French and Louise Beaudry must be destroyed when they are no longer needed for legal purposes. The tapes formed a key part of the evidence against Paul Bernardo, who was convicted of first-degree murder in the deaths of the two teenagers.

SETTING A PRECEDENT

The Nova Scotia government approved a plan by six universities in Halifax to form a consortium to share resources and eventually cut costs by \$17 million a year. The plan is one of many university presidents across Canada in a mood for dealing with government budget cuts.



Klein, more and more for beleaguered federal leader Jean Charest

Klein seeks a united voice on the right

Alberta Premier Ralph Klein delivered a blow to the beleaguered federal Conservative party, telling reporters that he would flee to see the Tories merge with the Reform party before the next election in order to present a united voice on the right. For Klein, the statement spelled a personal as well as a political departure: he has been both a longtime friend and supporter of federal Conservative party leader Jean Charest and

further setback to Charest's plans to rebuild the federal party—in part by building on its provincial strongholds. Pressed for his own thoughts on a Tory-Reform merger, Ontario Conservative Premier Mike Harris also failed to give a ringing endorsement of his federal comrades. "I don't know what the answer is for the federal scene," said Harris. "Each of those parties will have to make their determination of what they think is in the best interest."

SOLAR TEMPLE

Rumors of mass suicide

Even in Sweden, authorities refused that first report on the October 1994 deaths of 103 members of the Order of the Solar Temple in Switzerland and Quebec, police in

Quebec began to investigate reports 11-18 out of 100 members were planning to stage another mass suicide in the Solar Temple this summer.

Three former members of the Solar Temple told Swiss journalists almost 10 years that 10 or 12 people intend to kill themselves on June 27, the summer solstice. Cult experts say that the Solar Temple followers want to

join other dead members of the cult, who they believe have stars on the sky like the star Sirius.

This Swiss report said that most of the devotees who died in 1996—individuals, five in all—were Swiss. One was a 70-year-old man, Joseph D. Moser, a Canadian who was among the dead found in Switzerland.

Day parole reconsidered

The federal parole board reviewed day parole for Dwayne Arthur Johnson, who was convicted of second-degree murder in 1987 in the brutal stabbing death of a 14-year-old teenager, Helen Betty Osborne, 16 years earlier. Johnson was granted day parole in 1994, but his release was not publicized until, in January, parole board



members met with outraged members of Osborne's family in Norway House, a Cree reserve 450 km north of Winnipeg. Manitoba NDP MLA Eric Robinson, who had helped raise a petition against Johnson receiving day parole, said the board's decision would give Osborne's relatives "a sense that there is a possibility for justice." Johnson will be eligible for full parole in October.

Johnson: reconsidering parole

World The Unabomber unmasked?

When the letter-bombing acronym known as the Unabomber demanded that his 35,000-word diatribe against modern society be published last September, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* jointly printed the manifesto, inviting that the action could save lives. Six months later, it appears they may have been right. Something triggered by David Kaczynski, a 46-year-old Schenectady, N.Y., social worker, prompting him to look through some of his brother's long-lost golden papers before his mother put the family's Chicago-area home up for sale. The writings by Wanda Kaczynski's older son, a former mathematics professor, were starker enough to pose a harrowing dilemma. By January, mother and brother had consulted a Washington lawyer, who alerted the FBI to the family's suspicions. Agents dressed as hooligans and outdoor enthusiasts they began to close in on a Montana lodge with an anarchist streak, culminating in a month-long stalemate of a wilderness cabin that ended last week.

Thodore John Kaczynski, 33, was charged with possession of an unregistered firearm after a search of his one-room shack yielded a partial pipe bomb. But investigators frantically declared that the minor charge was a legal device while the search continued for evidence against a man they believe may have detonated 30 bombs in 17 years, killed three people and injured 23. "We've got all the time in the world now that he's in cus-



Kaczynski leaving federal court: a back-to-the-land loner

tody," said one federal agent who did not want to be named. Added another: "We want the inevitable, mother-fuck of evidence."

It was not that long ago that well-learned in an end a long, school district had been obtained. US law enforcement officials and worried the academic community since the first bomb went off in the hands of a campus police officer at Northwestern University near Chicago in 1958. The most recent bombing came almost a year ago, on April 24, 1985, when a trailer utility lobbyist Gilbert Murray was killed by a car bomb. It was this ally in Saratoga, Calif. Caring in the same week and the same state as the FBI's standoff with the so-called Freeman and government crusaders in Jordan, Mann (see page 10), the arrest gave a boost to the agency's tarnished image.

Before charging Kaczynski last week, investigators found 10 three-ring binders filled with bomb-making notes, as well as chemicals, tools and metals that could be used in explosives. "It is any opinion that these components were designed to, could be, and were intended to be readily assembled into a destructive device such as a pipe bomb," wrote FBI special agent Donald Sachleben

in an affidavit filed in a House, Mont., federal court. Investigators may also charge two second manual typewriters that they suspect may have been used to produce the Unabomber's manifesto. And the man in custody is strikingly similar to the psychological profile prepared in 1983 by the main agency Unabomber task force: an intelligent yet unskilled white, middle-aged male, well-versed in science and history who had lived in Chicago and California. The task force believes the Unabomber acted alone.

Kaczynski was born and raised in a suburb of Chicago, a lonely student who was a member of the Boy Scouts. Park High School with club. He received a scholarship to Harvard College where he graduated in 1960, going on to receive master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Michigan. He spent two years as an assistant professor of mathematics at the University of California at Berkeley. Like the Unabomber suspect profile, Kaczynski

had few close personal relationships. Last week, only a handful of former classmates and teachers could remember much about him, and even then some skeptics emerged as the enduring image. In 1968, Kaczynski resigned from Berkeley for what John Addonax, chair of the math department at the time, vaguely recalled as a desire to pursue social causes. It is unclear how influential Kaczynski was by the anti-establishment student movement of the time, which was highly active at his Michigan and California campuses. After leaving Berkeley, Kaczynski found his way to Utah, where he worked at a series of odd jobs. He bought land in Montana in 1971 and later built himself a plywood cabin on the Stimpert Pass, on the Rocky Mountain continental divide near Laramie, Mont. (pop. 1,000). Neighbors describe a back-to-the-land eccentric who kept to himself, emerging periodically to buy provisions or take out library books. Kaczynski had no car, made his way around on a old bicycle fitted with snow chains. He had neither electricity nor running water at his secluded perch and grew much of his own food.

"He left people alone and people left him alone," said Bob Orr, manager of the Laramie Telephone Co. "He was very quiet, a very grumpy man," and Beverly Coleman, who used to work at the Lincoln Library where Kaczynski filled his shelves with books and borrowed books. "We thought he was old right," added neighbor

Thad's the question. What happened? "That may be no easier to answer than why. Hundreds of investigators have fanned out across the country to gather physical evidence that they need if they are to fit Kaczynski's rant and rants into the Unabomber puzzle. But so far, place isolates and DNA samples from soils or on things are among the myriad items that could link a Montana recluse to murders and bombings in California, Michigan, Utah, Washington and Connecticut. The Unabomber, so named for initially targeting universities and airlines, also went after advertising officials, applied science professors and computer experts. After a bomb was left outside a Salt Lake City computer store in 1987, a witness—believed to be the only one to have seen the Unabomber—provided details for the famous sketch of a stringy-haired man wearing sunglasses and a hooded jacket. After the manuscript was published last year, the attacks—so pronounced—stopped. For how long, nobody could say.

While the Unabomber's publicity blitz may have been designed to spread a political message, last week's reveal had an intensely personal outcome for the Kaczynski family. As friends and associates came forward with stories of a well-educated genius dedicated to liberal causes, Wanda and her son David stepped out of sight, refusing to speak to reporters. As FBI agents said the suspect's brother who is a youth worker at a shelter for

While the description of an intelligent, well-read male, well-versed in science and history who had lived in Chicago and California. The task force believes the Unabomber acted alone.

Dick Lundberg, locals say Kaczynski dressed in black, sometimes in army fatigues, and usually wore dark glasses.

While the description of an intelligent, well-read male, well-versed in science and history who had lived in Chicago and California. The task force believes the Unabomber acted alone.

runaway home and is married to a philosophy professor, was furious that accounts of his role in the investigation became public. One scholar, however, Ted, had attended Harvard and reportedly found it painful to point the finger. Wanda had been proud of both her sons, as acquaintances—not only for their academic achievements, but for their social consciousness. In the end, the family's commitment to activism may prove to have led the brothers down drastically divergent paths—one of them terribly injured.



NORTH MONTANA with correspondent's report

Kaczynski at Montana's city

PREACHING 'REVOLUTION'

from the Unabomber's 35,000-word manifesto, "Industrial Society and Its Future," published last September by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*

The Industrial Revolution and its consequences have been a disaster for the human race. They have greatly increased the life expectancy of those of us who live in "advanced" countries, but they have debauched society, have made life unbearable, have subjected human beings to indignities, have led to widespread psychological suffering in the Third World as physical suffering as well, and have inflicted severe damage on the natural world. The continued development of technology will worsen the situation...



Sketch of the Unabomber

We therefore advocate a revolution against the industrial system. This revolution may or may not take the form of violence; it may be nonviolent or it may be a mixture of both. It may be a minority protest or it may be a mass movement. It may be a few individuals... This is not to be a political revolution. Its object will be to overthrow and governments but the economic and technological basis of the present society.



WORLD ■ UNITED STATES

Siege of the Freemen

Some bleached the landscape last week and temperatures dropped to well below normal as cowboys were dying in northern Montana. On a southwest county road outside Jordan, 150 km south of the Saskatchewan border, state highway patrol officers and FBI agents carrying assault weapons waited out the second week of a chilly standoff with armed antagovernment militants calling themselves Freemen. As many as 24 people, including women, at least two children and various bangers-on, were held up in a cluster of houses on ranches they have named Justice Township. There was also believed to be one Canadian Dale Martin Jacobs, 54. Ginglyerly, the FBI allowed some people to visit friends and relatives on the ranch. Those, last week, outside negotiators met face-to-face with members of the group—leading to the release of two people and raising hopes of a settlement. "Our deal here," FBI special agent Tom Thrust had said earlier, "is to resolve this situation peacefully."

In that cautious approach resonated the history of other sieges that have ended in bloodshed—notably the FBI's 1982 standoff with white separatist Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and the fiery Waco, Tex., Branch Davidian debacle in 1993. In Jordan, tensions began building on March 23, when the FBI arrested LeRoy Schweitzer, 37, and David Peterson Jr., 35, allegedly by firearms leaders. They were charged with numerous federal and state counts of fraud as well as making a death threat against a U.S. district court judge.

The Freeman say they have established a sovereign territory called Justice Township, about 60 km northwest of Jordan, and are opposing under common-law rights they insist are given them by the U.S. Consti-

tution. The movement is associated with Christian Identity religious beliefs, which hold that whites are God's chosen people. Freeman also challenge the government's right to issue currency. According to a 54-count indictment handed down in December, 12 people—including Schweitzer, Peterson and some of the people who are believed to be in Justice Township—allegedly issued fraudulent documents to obtain money and property. A U.S. attorney said losses by financial institutions, public agencies and businesses could amount to at least \$2.4 million.

Some local ranchers—on a ranch at least two of whom have lost their properties to foreclosure—have been involved with the Freeman in Jordan. But there are also outsiders, including Rodney Skurdal, 43, and Jacobs. State and federal officials said privately that after the arrests of Schweitzer and Peterson, Jacobs and Skurdal had emerged as the likely leaders of the group.

Ironically, Jacobs would at one time have been on the other side of the conflict. He was a young man when he joined the Calgary Police Service in about 1986. "What I remember of him is he was an unassuming, friendly type of guy," retired police inspector Jim Bergeron told his boss. "This was 25 to 30 years ago, he was in his 20s, and a person deserves significantly after that. But Dale did not show any of these tendencies."

Jacobs resigned from the police service in 1973 and eventually moved to the Bette-

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area southwest of Edmonton. Friends say he was a warm and sensitive man. An acquaintance, Murray Goureaux, recalls organizing a meeting that Jacobs attended about five years ago. Goureaux, who lives near Grande Prairie, Alta., is founder of what he calls Jacobs' Take Over Country Back. At his meetings he argues that the federal government is overstepping its jurisdiction in many areas, including the collection of income tax. Goureaux, 66, says that Jacobs "was highly concerned about government interference in our lives." That "he's been labelled as a white supremacist and as a high priest," Goureaux says, "and these things are completely false."

It is unclear precisely when Jacobs got involved with the Freeman, though it was likely only recently. About four years ago, he moved to Thompson Falls in western Montana, where he organized a program called Justice. He said that he had been in early 1983 and moved across the state to Roundup, where people active in the Freeman movement were living. In March, 1993, Jacobs was arrested for carrying a loaded handgun—a charge that was later dropped. Jacobs got \$80,000 in bail for himself and several others arrested the same day, private mess with gold coins—which he told investigators were part of the proceeds of the sale of his property business. Last fall, Jacobs and several others left Roundup for Jordan.

There said on the ranches that surrounded the town of about 650, the Freeman movement has long divided the community. But Helen Young, who is pastor to both the Presbyterian and Lutheran congregations in town, says there is a sense that the community would be willing to negotiate with their friends and relatives on Justice Township. "If they would be willing to bend on some of their beliefs," Young said, "they would be willing to work with them." The negotiations renewed the hope that the standoff would end peacefully—and that the community around Jordan might have an opportunity for such a reconciliation.

MARY McINTYRE with JILL MORLEY in Jordan



Identified by name: A former Canadian cop figures in a standoff with the FBI

World NOTES

VIDEOAPPEAL BEATINGS

Videoaped footage of Southern California police officers beating Mexican migrants ignited an international furor and two investigations by authorities. At least three news helicopters recorded the scene of two sheriff's deputies using their batons like baseball bats on a Mexican man and woman after a high-speed chase of a pickup truck carrying suspected illegal immigrants. The scenes were shown repeatedly on local and network TV news programs, resulting in the 1991 incident at which an amateur video caught Los Angeles police beating black suspect Rodney King.

JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Five South African neo-Nazis were sentenced to 28 years each after being convicted of murdering 30 people in a bombing that killed members of South Africa's first all-race election in 1994. A Johannesburg Supreme Court judge delayed sentence against four right-wingers still on the run after escaping from prison last month.

FIGHTING CHILD SEX

Ottawa announced it will pay 11 countries that have enacted laws to crack down on their own relations who engage in sex with child prostitutes while abroad. Canadians caught overseas could be prosecuted in Canada under planned legislation to prohibit such sex. The law would also prohibit that required tourists, mostly male, usually leave before they can be tried.

ADDS TEST ANGUISH

Thousands of European who were told not only an explicit number of "bad" cases, but also a broad way played a leading role—as chairman of the Democratic national committee—in Clinton's 1992 campaign victory. Brown, 54, had been poised to play a

A WARNING TO LIBYA

U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry said Washington would consider military operations against Libya as a last resort to destroy a new and deadly chemical weapons plant if Tripoli does not abandon the project. Perry said the massive complex, 68 km northwest of Tripoli, is more than a year from completion. Libya claims the site will be used to store nuclear waste.



Flags at half-mast in Washington; Brown (right) a friend of the President at journeying an economic recovery program in the Balkans

An air crash claims a top U.S. trade team

U.S. Commerce Secretary Ross Brown and several senior U.S. government and business officials died when their plane hit a mountain in Croatia during an economic mission to the former Yugoslavia. The flight from the sophisticated Bosnian town of Tuzla, where U.S. troops are based, led to a way on a jagged approach to the Croatian town of Dubrovnik on the Adriatic Sea. The crash killed all 25 people aboard the 7-43 passenger transport, a U.S. sear version of the Boeing 737. Among the victims were senior members of Brown's department and executives of 12 American communications, energy, banking, construction and engineering companies. Firms included Bechtel Corp., AT&T, Parsons Corp. and ARB Inc.

With Brown's death, President Bill Clinton lost not only an energetic member of his cabinet, but also a friend who played a leading role—as chairman of the Democratic national committee—in Clinton's 1992 campaign victory. Brown, 54, had been poised to play a

key part in the president's 1996 bid for reelection. Clinton cancelled appointments in order to visit Brown's widow, Alma, and commiserate with commerce department staff and families of other crash victims.

At the time of his death, Brown had been under investigation at Washington for alleged financial misdeeds—a case the prosecutor (temporarily dropped). The Commerce chief was also building a Republican proposal to liquidate his department in order to reduce federal spending. But Clinton and other Brown aides defended his record, establish a proven promoter of trade and an effective negotiator of disputes. Now, without Brown, his government team and his business allies, the task of promoting a recovery in the Balkans appears even more difficult.

Destroying the cows

The European Union agreed to compensate European farmers for 70 percent of the losses they will suffer from killer, critics due to the same over "most low cost cows." Under the plan, Brown must destroy all cattle older than 30 months—79 million animals have an 11.6 million-strong herd. The European Union will spend about \$550 million a year on the program. British officials expressed anger that the agreement, named as a deal to the European Union's worldwide ban

on reports of British beef and hydrocarbon. London was given until April 30 to define how it will manage the animals. A technical consensus. Britain has promised to destroy only 1,000 carcasses a week, while plans call for the destruction of 15,000 a week for six years. Nevertheless, the measure is viewed as the only way to restore meat to a Britain's 35.5-billion-pound industry also scandals named contaminated food products as the most plausible link to a brain disease in humans. The World Health Organization last week supported that conclusion.



Merzian: "We have the money and the brainpower"

AT&T goes on the attack

A U.S. phone giant targets Canada

Merzian furnished in tones of grey and maroon, the suite of offices occupies the 17th floor of a mid-rise skyscraper towers several blocks from the heart of corporate Canada. Inside, Jim Merzian, a self-proclaimed old hand, presides over a skeleton crew of five, including a receptionist and a public relations adviser. At first glance, AT&T's Canadian headquarters in Toronto seems rather ordinary. But there is nothing low key about Merzian's mission: unleashing a well-oiled assault on the \$20-billion domestic telephone and cable television industries. In the next few months, AT&T, the world's most powerful telecommunications giant, plans to expand its Canadian workforce, form alliances with key domestic companies and move aggressively into a spectrum of Canadian markets, from local phone service to satellite broadcasting and Internet access. "The company or country has the resources of AT&T," Merzian, president of the company's Canadian division, says flatly. "We have the money and the brainpower."

AT&T's push into Canada is part of a global strategy to become a full-service provider of communications services "anytime and anywhere," as Merzian, 52, puts it. And it comes at a time when the world's major telecommunications companies are scurrying into each other's arms and forming strategic alliances to offer a

unified market and end the monopoly of state-run France Telecom. Meanwhile, British Telecom PLC was in negotiations to take over real Cable and Wireless PLC. That deal, valued at \$60 billion, would cement BT's position as the dominant force in a global alliance known as Concert, which includes MCI Communications and BCE Inc. of Montreal, parent of Bell Canada and Northern Telecom. BT's move into AT&T—which commands 40 per cent of the U.S. long-distance market and, through AT&T WorldPartners, has stakes in Europe and Asia—will also be a coalition of Deutsche Telekom, France Telecom and Sprint Corp., collectively known as Global One.

By going global, the telecommunications giants hope to tie up large multinational accounts. AT&T, for example, could offer conventional and wireless phone service, Internet access, cable and satellite services to U.S.-based companies operating in Canada and overseas—bypassing old domestic suppliers that can only serve one market. London-based consultant Adrian May says the increasing power of the global giant "will squeeze out many of the smaller national operations. We're beginning to see these smaller operators respond by teaming up with the alliance companies."

In Canada, the pressure is building not only on provincial phone companies, which currently enjoy a monopoly on local service, but

on wireless providers of products in markets outside the phone. For corporations and consumers, the result will be an explosion of choices—and possibly lower prices—for everything from cellular service to cable. "Everyone is jockeying for position, looking for an advantage and trying to find out how to be all things to all people," says Ian Angus, a Toronto-based telecommunications consultant. AT&T's decision to plant its corporate flag in Canadian soil will intensify the restructuring of the telecommunications landscape, he adds, shaking up domestic players such as Bell Canada and Rogers Communications Inc.

The era of alliances has been spurred by developments in the United States, where deregulation is driving local and long-distance telephone companies, cable operators and broadbanders to battle one another in markets that previously were separate fiefdoms. Last week, in the first of what is likely to be a flurry of corporate mergers, SBC Communications Inc., a leading cellular supplier based in San Antonio, Tex., announced a \$29-billion deal with Pacific Telesis Group of San Francisco. The fourth-largest manager in U.S. history, it creates a company with 35 million U.S. customers.

The same trend is exploiting internationally as consumers and business customers demand better products and more integrated services at a lower price. In line with a European Union directive calling for deregulation by 1998, France last week announced plans to open the country's \$30-billion telecom

ERA OF ALLIANCES

As deregulation sweeps through the telecommunications industry, key players are forming global partnerships. The three most powerful alliances

AT&T WORLDPARTNERS

- ▶ AT&T Corp.
- ▶ Singapore Telecom
- ▶ Several smaller European and Asian telephone companies

CONCERT

- ▶ British Telecom PLC
- ▶ NCI Communications
- ▶ Bell Canada and other regional Canadian phone companies
- ▶ Cable and Wireless PLC (in merger talk with British Telecom controls Hong Kong Telecom)

GLOBAL ONE

- ▶ Deutsche Telekom
- ▶ France Telecom
- ▶ Sprint Corp.

With Canada control case in Toronto, pressure is building

also on cable owners. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission is committed to allowing competition in both the cable and local phone markets, giving rise to a single national industry. Last week, the cable industry moved to create a unified front with the launching of a national partnership that will spend \$6 billion over the next five years to upgrade and standardize cable technology. The new consortium, called Vision One, includes all the major cable companies, including Rogers, which also owns Maclean's. It is the cable's counterpart to Merzian—an alliance of the country's 11 regional telephone companies, including Bell Canada, NBT, BC Tel and Manulife Tel and Tel. Skeeter president David Strachan responded to the Vision one announcement by calling on regulators to allow full entry into the cable business by the phone companies.

For Bell, the country's largest phone company, the increased competition could have strong implications. Bell officials know that change is coming—but they say the rules need to be standardized so that existing players have a shot at winning in the marketplace. Indiscreetly about AT&T's growing prominence west of the border, Bell last week's called on the CRTC to hold public hearings into AT&T's recent financial bailout of Toronto-based United Communications Co., the country's leading alternative long-distance company. Bell and its Sprint partners want regulators to examine whether AT&T's role in United violates federal foreign ownership rules. "This is a wakeup call for Canada," said Bernard Courcier, Bell's vice-president of regulatory matters. Courcier added that the country risks losing control of its telecommunications market to foreigners. "Why would a country do that to itself?" he asks.

Jim Merzian offers a ready answer: "The reason is that consumers see the changes that are happening in the world. When customers demand choice,

regulators shouldn't deny them that choice." And Merzian is optimistic about the prospects for rapid deregulation. "I'm not happy yet—there's more to do. But we see a CRTC and a government that welcome competition." Meanwhile, the AT&T Canada president is also looking at providing local service in individual apartment buildings and office towers—something already permitted by Canadian law—as well as buying a stake in a wireless phone company and, most critically, establishing partnerships with one or more big Canadian companies, particularly in the cable field. "My problem has not been to find partners. My problem is in finding the right partners," the 50-year-old AT&T veteran says.

One likely stakeholder in Rogers Communications Inc., which is burdened with \$4.3 billion in debt and would benefit from AT&T's financial strength and technological expertise, in fact, Rogers officials have been meeting with Merzian to discuss a potential partnership. Asked about those discussions, Rogers vice-chairman Phil Lind said: "Everyone is talking to everyone. But AT&T is a massive company." Added Lind: "You'll see some significant alliances. Two seed alliances to survive." Merzian already has a close relationship with senior Rogers executives, having served as a director of United back when its two largest shareholders were CP and Rogers. In September, those two stakeholders pulled out of the ailing company and were replaced by AT&T and a consortium of three large banks. The new owners plan to relaunch the long distance company under the AT&T banner later this year.

By then, AT&T Canada's offices should be bustling. The half-dozen people who were working there last week will soon increase to some 200. "We're just getting up," says Merzian. "We expect to expand into a number of areas by the end of the year. It's moving fast." A lot too fast for some.

DAVID BORTON with ROSS LARSEN in Toronto



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The artful legacy of Mr. Horne



Horne is former
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For Toronto art gallery owner Jared Soble, the exhibition about to be a warm gathering of friends, a celebration of the works of Montreal artist Melvin Charney that just before opening night last December, Soble left a snap—two of Charney's works were locked in a wardrobe, under the control of bankruptcy receiver Coopers & Lybrand. Soble tried to get the pictures temporarily shipped, without success. And so, he says, "We had to put up two photographs because you can't do a show of certain artists without leaving into his collection. That's how good it is."

"It" was the first collection of Christopher Edmundson Inc., the defuncted stock broker from RBC Dominion Securities who has been the focus of a two-year investigation into allegations that he hidled clients of something in the order of \$6 million. While at RBC Dominion, the securities arm of the sagging Royal Bank, Horne had featured the image of an art connoisseur, developing a very expensive habit. Soble and other gallery owners had helped in the transformation. "My last acquisition," he says of Horne's collection. "It was better than if we had picked it for ourselves."

Coopers & Lybrand had seized the lot of it, Soble says. Horne owes him a great deal of money. "It's hurt the art market terribly," says Soble. Which made it all the more surprising when Chris Horne himself stepped in to the Charney opening, as compensated by longtime companion Douglas Bradley. Soble could scarcely believe it. "I asked him to leave," says Soble. "I said he had no place being there." Horne and Bradley promptly departed.

On March 29, at 8 a.m., the RCMP arrested Chris Horne at his agitated Toronto apartment and charged him with five counts of fraud and one of theft. After four days in the city's Det. Jail, Horne was released last week on \$108,000 bail. "I saw him on the news laughing as he got out of jail," says Soble. Many involved in the strange tale of Chris Horne remarked on the disconcerting observation of someone they thought they knew well, but who they clearly did not know at all.

When Chris Horne came onto the Toronto art scene, he was a vice-president at RBC Dominion. He worked with a half dozen others in the international department at the company's Toronto headquarters, handling private investors who wanted, or

whose accounts resided, in such offshore locales as the Cayman Islands and the Turks and Caicos. "He knew his way around the Caribbean," says a former co-worker. He knew trust companies and investment advisors, individuals and their reputations. And, apparently, he was good at picking product—stocks and bonds.

British-born, Horne had no roots in Toronto's high society and therefore went about the task of conferring status upon himself. He started small, paying the requisite \$60 to become a Freeman of the City of London, in honor that, says one co-worker, "entitles you to walk with a herd of goats across London Bridge." (According to the Lord Mayor's office, such privileges—and this one was far slapp, not goats—have faded with

The British-born charmer developed an expensive habit

the generations.) Horne later paid \$150,000 for the May title Lord of Huddersford Green.

In 1990, year Horne's connections brought him more than \$200,000. He was, without a doubt, a senior player. Like a paid dance partner on transatlantic cruises, he was a charmer with the ladies. And while few heard tell of his family, he would talk of travelling abroad with Lord and Lady this, or Viscount that. Where small dogs were concerned, he was a diva.

Horne started collecting the works of Canadian artists and international photographers—a Frederick Edwin portrait of 38-hundred Aubrey Beardsley, notes by Edvard Munch and Hans, a Self-portrait. As with the acquisition of titles, collecting art confirmed status. Where, for a time, he worked for RBC's water company, Royal Bank Investment Management, he set about buying corporate art, too. "Some of the art was not with much disdain," recalls a former peer. "On Bay Street, 99.9 per cent of the people tried to say, 'Gee, it doesn't look like a horse, then I'm not going to buy the picture.'"

According to the RCMP, Horne had another hobby, the dimensions of which Bay Streeters could easily grasp. For seven years, commencing in 1987, Horne allegedly funnelled funds out at his client's address in Toronto and its environs. In the summer of 1994, RBC Dominion confronted Horne, who admitted his involvement as a number of irregular transactions. Former accounts were hired to trace the transatlantic money trail. That fall, RBC Dominion petitioned Horne into bankruptcy. Horne refuses to comment on

the RCMP charges. David Humphrey, who acted on his behalf at the last hearing, says Horne "wishes to resolve all charges as quickly as possible," but will not say how Horne intends to plead at trial. Meanwhile, Coopers & Lybrand is still in the process of selling Horne's artistic acquisitions. One suspected gallery owner or companion of the art fixation "He took big boats to England, he stayed in the most expensive hotels in the world. The guys were diamonds. The guys were hard. He had a Jewish lifestyle. Art was only one part of it." Says a past friend, "People lost money, regardless of whether he bought art or houses. Fortunately, in this case, there's a Dominion Securities and a Royal Bank with a checkbook."

It is true that RBC Dominion has made restitution. But that does not mean the securities firm is anywhere near to washing its hands of Chris Horne. The Investment Dealers Association, the self-regulating overseer of more than 300 securities firms, has been conducting its own investigation. Gregory Clarke, the IIDA vice-president of member regulation, says the IIDA

has a final draft of the charges it will lay against Horne. Until his arrest, the IIDA was intending to package charges against Horne with others against RBC Dominion. But now that the RCMP has acted, the IIDA may try to save face by going after Horne independently. Making a case against the brokerage is, says Clarke, a tougher nut. "This is a circumstance where a financial institution has failed to prevent an employee from stealing the assets of certain clients," he says. "They have done what you normally would expect a financial institution to do, which is to pay off all the clients. The issue is, what did they do wrong?"

For the IIDA, making its best case against RBC Dominion is crucial. Clarke says it will be the first major test of the association's self-regulatory powers. The charges, he adds, will read a signal "that there is a minimum standard in regards to supervision of accounts, and that if you don't do the following, it's in violation of our rules and we will charge you for it." If the IIDA is successful, the financial penalty—likely no more than \$1 million—will seem little to the industry but it may well seem a public relations perspective.

As for Chris Horne, he was preparing to celebrate his 50th birthday last week. Close friends, who now talk in terms of heart and betrayal, said that Horne's birthday fell on Good Friday this year. Jared Soble momentarily set up a Jewish seder at the end of the day it will all be paid off," he says, mimicking what Horne has said to him. Then he drops the secret and says less humorously, "I don't know at the end of which day."

JENNIFER WELLS

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Where Real Life Gets Its Start

The high price of salary disclosure

The meeting of hospital administrators that took place last week in Ontario was overshadowed by a very personal issue: the participants' salaries. Under a law that took effect last week, Ontario government departments and agencies are required to disclose the annual salaries of all employees who earn more than \$200,000 a year. Gathering a day after the information was made public, the administrators exchanged good-natured barbs about how much money they and other people they knew were making. Still, the agencies are required to disclose the salaries of all employees who earn more than \$200,000 a year. Gathering a day after the information was made public, the administrators exchanged good-natured barbs about how much money they and other people they knew were making. Still, the agencies are required to disclose the salaries of all employees who earn more than \$200,000 a year. Gathering a day after the information was made public, the administrators exchanged good-natured barbs about how much money they and other people they knew were making. Still, the agencies are required to disclose the salaries of all employees who earn more than \$200,000 a year.

Ontario's new 'sunshine law' sparks controversy



Hollis Harris
Air Canada chairman
and CEO
\$1,075,886
plus stock options



Lorna Marsden
President of Wilfrid
Laurier University,
Waterloo, Ont.
\$215,556



Steve Palkin
Co-host of TVOntario's
nightly public affairs
show Studio 2
\$132,500

\$132,500 a year, while the network's chairman, Peter Herrndorf, makes \$130,356. Palkin said his salary is low by industry standards, adding that he earned more in his previous job at the CBC. But Marilyn Mushinski, the minister responsible for TVOntario, suggested that Palkin's salary was excessive and indicative of why the government is contemplating a sell-off of the network. "That is one of the reasons we are looking at the whole business of public broadcasting," said Mushinski, who makes about \$48,000 a year less than Palkin.

Others were quick to point out income disparities among senior officials with similar roles. Lorna Marsden, president of Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ont., made \$215,556 last year, while Robert Bruchard, her counterpart at the far larger University of Toronto, was paid \$190,150. And Michael Struelens, president of the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto, received \$320,000, while his counterpart across the street at Mount Sinai Hospital made \$236,754. James Pihladi, chairman of the Hospital for Sick Children, says the criticism has to pay top salaries to attract outstanding people. But he also believes other executives will now demand raises. Adds Pihladi: "I don't think the higher people are going to be saying they should take a cut."

In fact, several U.S. studies have shown that disclosure of executive incomes tends to result in pay increases for those at the lower end of the compensation scale. Robert Finkley, chief executive officer of Vancouver-based MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., received \$594,771 in 1994. But after it was revealed that his counterparts in the forestry industry were making significantly more, Finkley's pay came down 60 per cent to \$644,000 in 1995.

Public-sector administrators, however, will be hard-pressed to catch up with their counterparts in the private sector. Hollis Harris received \$1,075,886 plus stock options last year as chairman and chief executive officer of Air Canada, a company with revenues of \$4.5 billion. Ontario Hydro, in comparison, had revenues of more than \$8 billion, yet its president, Alan Kupers, received \$465,300. "These people generally make less than what you would for comparable positions in the private sector," said Alan Dunbar, a compensation consultant with Sobeco Ernst & Young in Toronto. Over the coming months, some officials on the public payroll will undoubtedly be trying to narrow the gap.

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Ross Laver



Personal Business

Getting wired at work

In the Internet the Hula-Hoop of the 2000s? Millions of people who rely on the global computer network would consider that a ridiculous question, yet earlier this year the media were full of premature denunciations for the Net and its multimedia offshoot, the World Wide Web. Across North America, journalists keen to debunk the Internet boom jumped on a report by a U.S. consulting firm, International Data Corp., which forecast that 1996 would be the year reality finally overtook the online hype. Most of the stories served in on the study's prediction that a fifth of the 170 Fortune 500 companies that were opening Web sites at the end of 1995

will pull the plug on those services this year or stop spending money on them. Fanciful stuff, except that the rest of the report was anything but heavenly about the Web's future. Its author, Frank Gens, was not dissuaded by the slant of the coverage that he issued a follow-up report last month in which he forecast the second straight

White 30 to 35 big firms will likely reduce their Web investments in 1996. Gens says, another 175 to 200 corporations are poised to launch new Web sites. In other words, major corporate presence on the Web will jump from one-third to two-thirds of the Fortune 500. An end-of-the-world experience, this one sounds pretty healthy.

The problem with the "postage bill" school of Internet coverage is that it obscures the real success: controlling companies in the online marketplace. A recent column (Personal Business, April 2) discussed how PCs have made it easy to waste time at work. As any Net-head worth his money pad can attest, savvy employees online access opens up vast new opportunities for productivity. And now, even downsize parts to corresponding with an e-mail pad in Tokyo. And companies that lock their networks to the outside world face a raft of potential security and legal issues.

If all this sounds esoteric, consider the challenges facing the information services manager of one of Canada's largest banks (company policy prevents him from speaking on the record). Right now, several hun-

dred people within his organization can connect to the Internet, from their desktops. Within five years, however, the bank plans to provide Net access to almost all of its 30,000 employees. "We see the Internet as a tremendous forum for exchanging commercial information and dealing with customers," the senior bank official says. "But we also need rules on Net usage. People have to remember that when they're online, they're representing the bank."

Jana Carroll, co-author of the Canadian Internet Handbook, recently drafted Internet guidelines for two major corporations, and a global mining company and the other, a large utility operating in Quebec and Ontario. Carroll generally favors as few restrictions as possible on Net usage, believing that the benefits far outweigh the potential for abuse. He points out, for example, that corporate giants like General Electric now do hundreds of millions of dollars worth of transferring a year over the Internet. "If I deny my people access because I'm afraid they're going to send dirty pictures or join a white-power news group, I'm going to miss out on that business."

Despite that, many firms are introducing strict policies on Internet usage. They're all so installing software to keep track of the Web sites their employees visit, the messages they post and the files they download. "We aren't censoring in any way, but we are monitoring what people are doing," says Eugene Selvin, chief technical officer of Securix Corp., a leading software supplier with 2,000 employees in the United States, Canada and Europe. He adds that companies are worried not only about productivity and the transmission of inappropriate material—recently a worker at one U.S. firm used her home for sexual harassment for allowing colleagues to download explicit photos—but also about the ease with which computer viruses can spread over the Net. Smart executives know they can't afford to ignore the emerging electronic marketplace. But they also know that the information highway is littered with potholes for those who fail to manage this new resource.

One U.S. woman
sued her boss for
letting colleagues
download explicit
photos from the
World Wide Web

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Business NOTES

CP RAIL MERGER

CP Rail System Ltd. is merging its Eastern Canadian operations with Delaware and Hudson Railway, the company's U.S. subsidiary. The Montreal-based operation, to be called the St. Lawrence and Hudson Railway, will manage 6,000 km of track between Quebec City and Chicago.

STAVRO WINS GARDENS

Georgy magnus Stavrakis has won his battle for control of the Toronto Maple Leafs and their historic home, Maple Leaf Gardens. Minority shareholders had opposed his 1994 purchase on the grounds that the price, \$75 million, was too low. To settle the dispute, he will pay up to \$40 million more, with much of the money going to charity.

MINIVAN LOVE AFFAIR

Canadians' love affair with the minivan continues, generating big profits for Chrysler Canada. In March, the automaker reported its highest truck and minivan sales in its 70-year history. Chrysler dealers sold 15,523 trucks and minivans in the month, topping the record set in June, 1994. Rival General Motors plans to introduce a new generation of minivans in the fall in an effort to grab a larger share of the lucrative and fast-growing market.

BANKRUPTCY TOLL RISES

The number of bankruptcies in Canada is rising. In January, consumer and business bankruptcies totalled 7,203, up from 5,157 a year earlier. In 1995, a record 73,890 consumers and businesses declared bankruptcy.

OTTAWA CRACKS DOWN

Gutting the taxman is going to cost more. Beginning this spring, the federal government will charge interest on tax bills that are not paid within 30 days—a change from the current 45-day grace period. The move is expected to generate \$17 million a year. At last count, Ottawa had about \$4 billion in unpaid bills.

LAWYER SEEKS PAYMENT

The lawyer who handled former Calgary Stampeder owner Larry Ryckman's fight with the Alberta Securities Commission says his client owes him more than \$11,000. Robert Joseph is seeking a judgment for unpaid bills from the Coast of Queen's Bench. In January, Ryckman was fined nearly \$500,000 for stock manipulation.



E.C. forestry workers: \$0 billion worth of lumber exports

Peace, at what price?

Facing pressure from the U.S. government and a powerful forestry lobby, federal Trade Minister Art Eggleton agreed to impose a tax on softwood lumber exports to the United States. He said the agreement was the "best deal in a bad situation." Eggleton said he hopes the five-year pact will protect Canada's \$9-billion share of the U.S. softwood market. But others predicted that the trade truce would not last long.

As Gerald Stuenkel, an Ottawa consultant who was deputy trade minister during the Canada-U.S. free trade talks. He added there is no way to stop U.S. companies from filing charges of unfair trading against Canadian competitors. Supporters of the deal say it will protect jobs and possibly spur new business for domestic manufacturers of products such as wooden doors and window frames, which will not be subject to the new export levy.

VAINESAYE Volley's Bay deal

Diamond Fields Resources Inc. of Vancouver has acquired a \$1.3-billion takeover bid from Vainey's Bay, the world's largest metal producer. The deal gives the Toronto-based mining company control of massive nickel deposits at Vainey's Bay, Liberia. "I can't tell you how excited I am," says chairman Michael Sapiro, making many of such acquisitions. However, was unhappy about the company's future. But the company's plan to pay for the takeover by issue, new stock will reduce the value of their own investments. In accepting the bid, Diamond Fields turned its back on a competitor from Newfoundland, Ltd., Canada's second-largest in the world. Years of its means that Robert Frodo, the 46-year-old father of three and former stock promoter who heads Diamond Fields, is now holding stock worth more than half a billion dollars. He planned Vainey's Bay move is expected to produce 270 million pounds of nickel a year, equal to about 15 per cent of current nickel world production. It will be increased and nickel mine in the world.

Changing of the guard

The man at the helm of North America's oldest operating brewery is stepping down. Marshall (Mick) Cohen, 62, will leave his job as president and CEO of The Molson Co. Ltd. later this year. Cohen, a former federal bureaucrat who has led the company since 1986, has been criticized by some for costly attempts to expand Molson's sibling specialty-chemicals division. He also led an expansion into the retail business with a chain of home-improvement stores, a move Molson is now backing out from. "We accomplished what I set out to do," Cohen said. He added that the company's decision to return to its brewing roots "requires a younger leader with proven operational expertise in brewing."

A special committee of the board of directors headed by chairman Eric Molson, great-grandfather of the company's founder, plans to look for a successor. Under Cohen, Molson sold 36 per cent of Molson's products to U.S.-based Miller Brewing Co. Another 40 per cent is owned by Foster's Brewing Group of Australia.



Cohen: Now for a younger leader



Peter C. Newman

Giving our maritime trade more muscle

Public and private enterprise have always had a tough time coexisting. So it was something of a miracle that when Ottawa decided to spin off federally owned airports, it came up with a hybrid approach that handed ownership over to entrepreneurial local boards, but under a strict mandate that compelled them to retain every cent of any profits.

The airport privatization was so successful that the government is about to implement a similar but not painless procedure for the devolution of running the country's major deep-sea ports, including those at St. John's, Halifax, Saint John, Quebec City, Montreal, Vancouver and Prince Rupert, B.C.

This is a key issue in Canada's fight to remain competitive in trade and maritime transport. Historically, the current way of administering our harbors is Crown corporations that have placed them under serious disadvantages. Every material decision had to be approved by Portia Canada in Ottawa, the Crown agency that then required approval for nearly every decision from the transport and finance departments, which in turn checked with the treasury board, which has the final say on all expenditures. Not only was this process inordinately lengthy, but local port corporations in turn had to produce reports, compliance statements and other minutiae of bureaucratic paper.

Radically new management structures are required because harbors are no longer merely neutral entities that provide moorings and docks where ships can be at. Progressive, quick-acting port administrations are needed to provide the kind of aggressive marketing and innovative planning that governmental bodies can never achieve. This is particularly true of the hotly competitive climate on the continent's west coast. "Cargo is being diverted to American ports and will continue to be so," claims Bruce Campbell, head of the Downtown Vancouver Association, a business lobby. "Unless our ports have the freedom to make required business and investment decisions outside of the local level, a bureaucracy, no matter how well-endowed, cannot respond to the needs of the marketplace in a timely manner."

American ports such as Seattle and Tacoma in Washington, Portland, Ore., and Oakland, Long Beach and Los Angeles in California, operate harbors that are structured around local authorities so they can react to changing market conditions without having to check with distant authorities. The local authorities of the U.S. West Coast ports are being expanded, including \$2.1 billion to improve port access in Los Angeles.

Meanwhile, Canaport, the offshore sales agency for the Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan, once an almost exclusive user of Vancouver facilities for West Coast shipping, is financing a new \$50-million terminal in Portland for additional West Coast shipping needs. "Vancouver harbor's ability to do what it should

do," says Patrick Reid, a former chairman of the Vancouver Port Corp., "will best be achieved as an agency which reports to a board that consists of people who operate the port and local businesses."

The East Coast is facing similar problems, and in a submission to Ottawa last summer, the Halifax/Barbouth Port Development Commission advocated the transfer of its harbor "from federal control to a not-for-profit corporation" because this would "impose private sector discipline on port management, ensure maximum diligence to control costs and remove political pressures."

As a result of this and many other representations, then-Transport Minister Doug Young pushed a new national marine policy through cabinet last fall. Tabled in mid-December, it called for total devolution of ports, to be run by their own locally appointed boards of directors. Six weeks later, Young

was moved out of transport and succeeded by former national revenue minister David Anderson. Anderson has renewed Young's policy and proposed several significant changes. While the ports structure will become significantly streamlined, they will still remain federal agencies and the majority of their board members will still be appointed by Ottawa.

Believing this position is Ron Longstaffe, the Vancouver Port Corp. chairman. His view is that the city's port is a Canadian, not a local, institution because it serves all of the western provinces. Longstaffe also believes the system can be adequately reformed while still remaining under Ottawa's jurisdiction and acting as a public policy, strategic landlord. "Harbors are not airports," he says. "Our main asset is waterfront real estate and by retaining a federal agency we retain exempt from municipal zoning regulations, as well as taxes on our income and capital. Under the suggested new setup, we will be autonomous except for a cap on our debt and restrictions on sales of strategic land. I and all the other port chairmen and managers believe that Anderson is on the right course."

The forces that oppose total devolution of the ports got a boost from the Feb. 15 incident when Jesse Chittler got into a scuffle with demonstrators waving Quebec's *Flam-de-lis* flag during a visit to Hull, Que. The Prime Minister was furious that there weren't more Canadian emblems in evidence, and according to some members of the Liberal caucus, went "big crazy." That was the genesis of Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps' free-trade distribution scheme. Port chairmen across the country have jumped on the bandwagon, claiming that Canadian ports must stay in government hands, so they can remain steadfast flyers of the sacred Maple Leaf.

The issue will be formally resolved in the next few months. At stake is making less than Canada's future as a competitive maritime trader.

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A whole new ball game

Baseball hopes fans will forgive and forget

In the first inning of the Montreal Expos' season opener in Cincinnati against the Reds last week, MVP-style sniper John McSherry collapsed on the field and died of a heart attack. The tragedy stunned players and spectators alike, and overshadowed an ordinarily sunny time on the sports calendar, the beginning of the baseball season. For baseball boosters, it also seemed to symbolize the black cloud that hangs over the game. The major leagues, which have been without a Spring Game since 1966, desperately need an upbeat year after seeing the 1994 and 1995 seasons shortened by a bitter strike. Angered by that still-unresolved dispute, fans stayed away from ball parks or drives last year, and those who tried to watch on TV missed some of last year's exciting playbacks because some games inexplicably overran. To paraphrase immortal manager Casey Stengel, critics wondered: Can't anyone here run this game?

Luckily for baseball, the game is renewed each spring, and TV networks were prone to short-term memory loss. Despite the fact that CBS claimed a \$600-million shortfall on its last baseball deal, three other U.S. TV networks—Fox, NBC and ESPN—stepped up to the plate in 1996 with a rich new contract worth about \$2.3 billion over the next five seasons. Fans, meanwhile, are doing what they



Senior sibling: the Expos' Shane Bieber takes a throw (above) removed each spring.

always do in spring—dressing at World Series games. In some cities, that optimism is not an idle hope. The defending champion Atlanta Braves may actually be better than last year; the team can be said of the hot-hitting Cleveland Indians. But hope sprang eternal even for 1995's cellar-dwellers. The Montreal Expos, saddled with baseball's lowest payroll (\$21 million, compared with the highest, the New York Yankees' \$72 million), left training camp quietly confident that they will contend in the National League East. And despite an exodus of stars, the Toronto Blue Jays have also succumbed to spring. "That's the

great thing about baseball," says Jays outfielder Joe Carter, looking more enthusiastic and fit than ever. "No matter what we did last year, there's always a new chance, a new season."

After a dismal 1995 campaign, the Blue Jays are bracing for a significant drop in attendance from their two championship seasons, when more than four million fans packed SkyDome each year. On the field, about veterans have been replaced by eager kids. Sluggish Carlos Delgado inherits the designated hitter role from Paul Mulder, and Felipe Crespo, Domingo Cedeño and Thuan Roberts are all vying to succeed departed second-basemen Roberto Alomar. With newcomer Otilio Moya in centre field and sophomores Alex Gonzalez (shortstop), Shawn Green (right field) and Sandy Mariscal (catcher) taking regular turns, the Jays have only three returning veterans—Carter, first baseman John Olerud and third baseman Ed Sprague—in the everyday lineup. And the pitching staff—even with the addition of free agent Eric Lirio and Colangelo, Ont.'s Paul Quantrill—is shy at best. "This is the first time since I've been here that we haven't been picked to win," says Olerud. "But we've got a good club—we're going to surprise a few people."

The Expos will also be young, but that is nothing new. The organization has been living off its talent-rich minor-league system for years. Montreal bolstered its 1996 roster by acquiring bullpen ace David Vorn from Houston and slugger Sherman Orlando from Baltimore. But what excites manager Felipe Alou is a pitching staff anchored by starters Pedro Martinez, Jeff Fassero and Rivaldo Carreras, a native of Montreal, N.S. The offence, with more speed than power, will depend on Alou's sons, left-fielder Marlon, and centre-fielder Ronald White. Sitting in the sunshine during training camp, Expos broadcaster Ken Singleton was looking on the bright side. "Just watch them," he said about conspicuously. "I think they will be better than most people think."

Which Canada-based team does best this season will depend on how quickly their youngsters adapt to the big leagues. "The older players have been terrific with the kids," says Gord Ash, the Blue Jays' general manager. The Expos, with fewer experienced hands, will once again lean on professor Alou, who in years past has taken new talents and turned out such stars as hard-hitting Larry Walker, the Maple Ridge, B.C., native who now plays for Colorado, and Atlanta centre-fielder Marlon Brissot. "Special, in its coaches, is the teaching process," Alou says. "We believe that what we are teaching is good because the guys who leave here are great players." And it is the great players—who matter where they play their trade—who hold the best hope for a baseball revival.

JAMES DEACON

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Danger: bad-air rinks

As a player in church-league hockey in Surrey, B.C., Dean Froc coughed a few times and bit braces that on Dec. 16, he got more than he bargained for. During a game at a local arena, 30-year-old Froc and several other players were seized with uncontrollable hacking fits. Before the symptoms subsided, Froc had a sleepless night of coughing—and frequently spit up blood. Three hours later, he sought emergency care at a nearby hospital, while others experienced fatigue and breathlessness. Months later, Froc says he still does not know what caused the asthma-like symptoms. "None of us are chemists or scientists," adds Froc, a wholesale buyer. "But we suspect it was something airborne." In fact, subsequent air-testing in the Surrey rink found that levels of nitrogen dioxide, a dangerous gas, were as much as five times higher than provincial guidelines allow. Surrey officials say they are trying to correct the problem.

Although the number of bad-air arenas is impossible to determine, anecdotal evidence like Froc's is raising deep concern among players, parents and health experts. Anyone who has spent time in poorly ventilated arenas knows the stuff: a redolent mix of cigarette smoke, sleep-dripped jerseys, ammonia used to refrigerate the ice, and exhaust from often poorly tuned ice-resurfacing equipment. It is a recipe for foul air—and it leads to at least two or three severe carbon monoxide (CO) or nitrogen dioxide (NO₂) poisonings reported every year in North America, according to

Michael Brauer, assistant professor of respiratory medicine at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. "And these are just the tip of the iceberg," he adds.

In fact, Brauer released a study last year that suggested that the air in 60 per cent of community rinks in Canada exceeded government guidelines for NO₂, a potentially poisonous gas produced by the exhaust of ice-cleaning equipment. A similar Harvard University study of New England arenas in 1994 found that at least 50 per cent exceeded World Health Organization guidelines for NO₂. John Spengler, director of the environmental science and engineering program at the Harvard School of Public Health, which conducted the New England survey, points out that compared with carbon monoxide—which quickly causes headaches, fatigue, nausea and rapid breathing—the effects of nitrogen dioxide are more insidious. As the pollutant slowly attacks lung tissue, symptoms—breathing difficulties and irritation of the eyes, nose and throat—may show up as much as two or three days after exposure. Anna Spengler. "How many students were reported because the effects are delayed?"

The long-term implications, especially for kids, may be even more troubling. A study by Hilliana's Dalhousie University published in the *New Scotia Medical Journal* in 1999 warned that young hockey players could face a higher risk of developing asthma in

an arena's foul air. Playing the emotional, high-energy game increases respirations, which can cause an "even deeper penetration of pollutants into the sensitive airways," says Dalhousie sports science professor Larry Rink. "When you get into an environment that's polluted, the worst thing you can do is increase your metabolism."

Stories of noxious arena air have circulated for years. In January, 1994, a suspected NO₂ poisoning at an indoor rink in Sun Valley, Idaho, almost claimed a life, caused permanent lung damage in three players—and led to a host of lawsuits. In Minnesota in 1987, a similar incident prompted the state to institute the only air-quality program in the country. Arena staff are now required to test air quality every week and log the results with the state health department.

In Canada, however, health officials have just begun to respond to the problem. In 1993, Saskatchewan implemented an air-quality program that includes mandatory testing of equipment; since then, air poisonings have dropped significantly. Earlier this year, the Quebec government began posting public warnings about air quality in hockey rinks. And in Vancouver, public health officials have been meeting since January with a committee of recreational facility managers to draft guidelines for air-quality control in B.C. rinks. But there are still no national guidelines. And as most referees, spectators is left up to local health departments, and monitoring occurs very widely. "These incidents surface occasionally," says Jim Shevchuk, manager of the North York Environmental Health Division, which temporarily shut down a private arena in the Toronto suburb after a men's hockey team complained of headaches, nausea and fatigue. "Parents especially must be sensitive to their children's complaints of fatigue and nausea."

Eventually, technology may fix the problem. Many arena managers have already converted their ice-cleaning equipment from gasoline to clean-burning natural gas, and a growing number are installing catalytic converters that significantly reduce NO₂ and CO emissions. But for now, experts

say it is largely up to players, coaches and parents to ensure that rinks maintain air quality. Harvard's Spengler recommends that parents check whether arena ventilation systems are operating properly. They should be wary of ice resurfacers that idle for long periods, he adds, and should not be afraid to ask rink managers when the air was last tested. Says Spengler: "It comes down to empowering yourself—what can you do to protect your child?" Asking that question may lead parents to encourage not only clean play—but clean air, too.

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Hollywood taboos

Tracing the movies' treatment of homosexuality

THE CELLULOID CLOSET

Directed by Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman

Writer Gore Vidal cherishes about how he slipped a homosexual slant into *Ben-Hur* (1959) without its star, Charlton Heston, becoming aware of it. Tony Curtis talks about bathing Lawrence Olivier in a suggestive mannered scene that was cut from *Spellbound* (1964); Susan Sarandon describes how she inserted on the kiss between her and Greer Garbo at the climax of *They Two* (1935). Those are some of the juicier moments in *The Celluloid Closet*, a documentary about Hollywood's portrayal of homosexuality over the years that offers a exploring blend of history, gossip and cultural anthropology.

Narrated by Lily Tomlin, the film includes interviews with such stars as Whoopi Goldberg, Tom Hanks and Shirley MacLaine, who makes it work as effective big-screen entertainment as a treasure trove of clips culled from 230 motion pictures—beginning with a test shot of two men dancing filmed at the Thomas Edison Studio in 1885, based on the 1881 book by Vito Bruno titled *Disc of an AIDS-related illness* in 1993). *The Celluloid Closet* tracks an evolution of stereotypes



MacLaine (left), Hughes in *The Children's Hour*: unmistakable perversion

The essay emerged as an early comic cliché, always guaranteed a laugh. But while effeminate men were a joke, cross-dressing female stars such as Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo only enhanced their allure by playing tantalizing scenes with lesbian overtones. As Hollywood succumbed to censorship codes in the 1930s, homosexuality receded into the closet. Gensets stripped gay references from scenes and dialogue, while those characters allowed to retain hints of homosexuality were often cold blooded villains.

But by the '50s, America's golden age of

sexual repression, writers and actors had learned to work between the lines. Taking about making the "ambiguously gay" *Ben-Hur*, Vidal describes how he persuaded director William Wyler and actor Stephen Boyd to convey a gay subtext in a warm reunion scene between Her (Olivier) and Messala (Boyd). Vidal says the director did not dare let Heston in on the secret for fear that the actor would not be able to handle it.

In the case of closeted star Rock Hudson, the subtext was often overwhelming. As their *Amateur*, Hudson at moments watching Hudson's movies with gay friends in the actor's private screening rooms and laughing at the in-jokes. In *Private Talk*, Hudson's character pretends to be gay in order to seduce a woman. "It was tremendously ironic," says Maspin, "because here was a gay man impersonating a straight man impersonating a gay man." As homosexuality began to surface in the movies, it was as an undesirable perversion. In *The Children's Hour* (1961) MacLaine and Audrey Hepburn play characters with a lesbian secret. "I feel as doing sick and dirty I can't stand it anymore," weeps

MacLaine's character in a melodramatic scene with Hepburn. No one on the set ever discussed homosexuality, MacLaine now recalls with amusement.

The *Celluloid Closet* goes on to document the emergence of gay positive movies from *The Boys in the Band* (1970) to *Philadelphia* (1993). And, in 1996, how far is Hollywood out of the closet? "About as far as the rest of American society," says the documentary's co-director Rob Epstein. "No more, no less."

SHAWN D. JOHNSON

Eyewitness portrait

ANNE FRANK REMEMBERED
Directed by Jon Blair

She is the most enduring martyr of the Holocaust. The diary that she kept while hiding from the Nazis in Amsterdam has sold 25 million copies in 54 languages since its publication in 1947. And, through stage and screen adaptations, Anne Frank has almost become a global icon, fulfilling her teenage wish for artistic immortality—"I want to go on living after my death," she wrote. But *Anne Frank Remembered*, which recently won the Oscar for best documentary feature, goes beyond the diary to present as syncretic portrait of Frank through the testimony of family, friends, and concentration camp survivors—along with newly uncovered photos, letters and archival footage.



Frank: haunting images

Narrated by Kenneth Branagh, with Glenn Close reading diary excerpts, the film charts Frank's life in microscopic detail. London-based director Jon Blair uses special effects to recreate the Frank family's hiding place as it was more than 50 years ago—ghostlike, the furniture keeps fading away to show the bare walls of the Amsterdam annex as it is today. Reconstructing as well as documenting, Blair shoots haunting images of Auschwitz at night. And by bringing survivors back to the death camps, he stages some harrowing remembrances. But most striking are the simple interviews with Miep Gies, the woman who protected the Amsterdam hiding place and who discovered the diary. Showing the diary to Anne's father only after he had confirmed her death, she remained to the end a keeper of secrets.

8-DJ



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The passions of a pensioner

LOVE, AGAIN

By Doris Lessing
(HarperCollins, 262 pages, \$32.95)

Long before Chaucer wrote nothing about whereat a January passing after smooth-bellied May in one of his *Canterbury Tales*, the old man or woman who falls in love with some one much younger was considered a figure of fun. There seems to be something inherently ridiculous—if not downright unusual—in such an attachment, although British author Doris Lessing might beg to disagree. The heroine of *Love, Again*, Lessing's first novel in seven years, is a 65-year-old woman, Sarah Durham, who falls in love with men young enough to be her sons and even grandsons.

Sarah's love is not the genteel, sentimental stuff considered appropriate for women her age. She is as ready as a 30-year-old, wracked with a host of powerful it seems to strip 30 years from her face. She develops unhappy symptoms, too: the sleepless nights, racing fantasies and plunging emotional states familiar to anyone who has endured the experience of total, obsessive focus on another human being.

Like so much of Lessing's best work—particularly *The Golden Notebook* (1962) and the *Martha Quest* series of four novels—*Love, Again* would appear to have a strong autobiographical basis. It is impossible to read this wise and captivating book without thinking of 70-year-old Lessing herself. Sarah shares with her creator a dry, critical intelligence and nonconformist manner combined with a robust physicality—qualities made familiar to Lessing's readers in her masterful 1994 autobiography, *Under My Skin*. Sarah even has a career in the arts, as manager, director and writer with *The Green Bird*, a London alternative theatre. But what really points to the autobiographical element in *Love, Again* is the painfully accurate, detailed portrait of Sarah's experience. Though it is written in the third person, much of the novel has all the idiosyncrasy, impossible-to-revise flavor of a private diary.

To say this does not diminish Lessing's

imaginative achievement. But it points to the peculiar attractiveness of so much of her fiction, in which she writes like an anthropologist among the events of her own life, loosely transposing them into the disciplines of art. And because Lessing knows Sarah's experience so deeply, and conveys so effortlessly among its details, she grants to the reader an exhilarating sense of free-

dom and sensibility. Sarah falls headlong in love with the handsome, sexually ambiguous actor, Bill, who is in his twenties. Not long afterward, she also develops a crush for a man only a few years older than Bill, nervous, amusing Henry, Jacky, Henry's director. Both men love her in return, but both are also reluctant to sleep with her—a turn of events that allows Lessing to work up a good deal of dramatic tension, and Sarah to carry out some excellent subterfuge. Wracked with longing, Sarah confides to her diary: "I think I am really ill. I am sick—with love. I know this has nothing to do with Henry or that boy."

In other words, Sarah craves to realize that the men are merely catalysts for a neediness that long precedes them. She suspects her love-hunger has something to do with a deeply unsatisfactory relationship with her mother when she was very young (Lessing has written about similar events in her own life). Thus laughter—which is barely new, but which Lessing explores with a piercing acuity—leads directly to the novel's climax. Back in London, Sarah also in a park and wishes a young girl strongly to win her ill-different mother's love, with its deep similarity to the patterns of Sarah's own life, the scene is crushingly effective.

A few pages later, Lessing's attempt to end her novel on a lighter note misfires badly, but the flaw is minor in the face of *Love, Again*'s broad achievement. Among the subplots, Sarah's platonic friendship with the depressive Stephen, the play's rich English nation, shows Lessing's usual genius for evoking the complex, frequently anti-synecdochic of male-female relations. And Sarah's care for her wayward niece, Joyce—a motif no amount of psychoanalysis can explain—is material for a fine novel in itself. But all the drama, wit, humor and intellectual finesse of *Love, Again* point back to the main theme: that the hunger for love is a force to respect, even when it occurs behind dowries and wrinkles. After reading the novel, it is impossible to look at the impassion of the old (or that mother, the young) in quite the same way again.

JOHN HENRICKSON



Lessing: my humor, intellectual honesty

dram. Like *The Golden Notebook*, Lessing's latest novel creates the effect of a whole new territory suddenly opening up to human understanding.

The events of *Love, Again* revolve around a play *The Green Bird* is staging in a town in southern France. Jacky Katana, whose script Sarah has written (it will be performed in English, mostly for English-speaking tourists), commissions a beautiful local woman—a gifted composer and artist—who died mysteriously by her own hand late in the 19th century. Under the double spell of Jacky's music and the Provencal landscape, the normally brisk

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Four new CDs reflect Mozart's enduring appeal

The appeal of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart seems indisputable. The bicentenary of the composer's death five years ago brought scores of celebratory concerts, recordings and special events

around the world. Had it been anyone other than Mozart, there might have been a risk of overkill. But not so for the Austrian genius, whose compositions not only give pleasure but, according to recent studies,

help people to score better on IQ tests and even encourage dairy cows to produce more milk. One study showed that when recorded versions of Mozart's music were piped into a dairy barn, milk production increased; when heavy-metal Kiss music was played, the levels dropped. Several new recordings attest not only to Mozart's continuing popularity but also to the flexibility of interpretation that his music affords.

Conductor Mario Bernardi has always shown a deep understanding and flair for the music of Mozart—from his days as the music director of the National Arts Centre Orchestra in Ottawa, right through his tenure at the Calgary Philharmonic. Under his leadership, from 1984 to 1994, the orchestra grew in experience, repertoire and stature.

Bernardi's recent CD, *Mozart: Twelve Overtures* (CBC Records), features the Calgary Philharmonic performing overtures from such popular works as *The Marriage of Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *The Magic Flute*, as well as from lesser-known gems including *L'arc de triomphe* and *Metastase* and *Andreas*. Textures are clear and transparent, with brisk tempos that never lose their sense of perspective. And the architect captures the darker, more dramatic qualities of Mozart. The beginning of the overture to *Don Giovanni* has a foreboding, eerie character, hinting at the story's tragic elements. Overall, the sound is full and warm, even though at times the orchestra sounds slightly distant.

The strengths of Mozart's music, even in altered form, are evident in a new Teldec CD featuring two pianists, Vienna-based Elisabeth Leonska and Moscow-based Benjamin Richter. In fact, Mozart must share the credit for this music with Norwegian composer Edvard Grieg, who created the *andante* accompaniment for the sonatas. Grieg's transcriptions reflect the common 19th-century practice in which piano teachers accompanied their students on a second piano. The method is confirmed by many piano teachers today. Grieg himself had first used the accompaniment for his teaching purposes, but gradually they found their way into concert programs.

Grieg's arrangements are clever and always do justice to the music. They provide a 19th-century view of these works, a unique perspective that casts new light on Mozart's original compositions. The transcriptions have never been recorded before, and pianists Leonska and Richter bring them alive in their spirited performances. The CD was recorded in 1995, when legendary pianist Richter was 38. All his skills are still with him then and show no signs of diminishing.

Another strong new CD features Melvyn Tan on fortepiano and the San Francisco-based Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra on period instruments, conducted by Nicholas McGegan. Tan is one of the leading forte-piano players of the period and a natural movement. He has recorded extensively

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The true saga of a Canadian slave

**CAPTIVE HEART:
THE JAMES HENK STORY**
(CineMax Global, April 10)

It is a compelling, and life-long, tale of a young Canadian history. *Captive Heart* The Jones Misses traces the saga of the son of a freed American slave (Lena Gossett), as the title says, in the 1850s, as taken to Canada by a Quaker prospector. He is a very over and leading politician. As the movie portrays him, Mack is at once a shrewd, if slightly unsympathetic, businessman and a loving husband and father with (Celia) Maggie. The problem, however, is his headstrong daughter, Mary (Rachel Crawford), whom Mack feels is unmarriageable because she has a "bad blood" with the American protesters, he advertises a huge dowry and eventually finds her a suitable match in William Johnston (Peter Outerbridge), a white American who has been in Canada for years. Mary, apparently, grows to like him, too, and the two get married and head off to Niagara Falls. And then the historic battle of the Misses' dreams

That, too, is where *Capitane* Hurt begins to falter. It is almost like two movies as one: the first a period piece about a respectable Canadian, the other a stereotypical movie about a racist, bigoted owner of slaves; and the transition is far from smooth. As soon as the honey-mooners cross the border—about half-hour into the movie's 120 minutes—the genial Johnson reveals himself to be not a facile device for the movie to trade on, but a real character who is not a racist. He is a man who has been treated badly by his wife, he whistles her off to Richmond, Va., to get her on the auction block, where she is purchased by a kindly plantation owner (Morgan Robertson). Disheartened, beaten and forced to work for the first time in her life, Mary manages to get word of her plight to her husband, who is in the company of James Blake. In a daring rescue attempt, the couple undertakes a dangerous rescue attempt.

To be fair, *Caprice* isn't a better than most of the serial-killer/freak-beast-dad/crazed-housewife nail-biter that comprises the bulk of the TV movie genre. The performances are all good—Gossett, the lone American among the principal performers, portrays

the slightly pompous Mink with apion, and Neilligan does her best to add sobriety to her doughty Irish mother. The sets—the movie was filmed entirely in Ontario last summer—look wistfully old and convincing. And *Captive Heart* touches on several socially relevant issues: the difficulty of interracial marriages, for one, and the sometimes uneasy relations between well-to-do and lower-class blacks.

But the movie only *hints* at those themes, because there is only so much



Crawford (left), Gurnett & American dance machine

A father goes all out to save his daughter

the actors can do to develop character when their roles are overshadowed by stock plot elements and blatant sensibility. The portrayal of plantation life in *Roots*, part *Melungeons*—what would a movie about slavery be without at least one whipping, or without a lascivious plantation owner harassing a young black girl? Disappointing, too, is the portrayal of southern whites as both free and unrepentant leering perverts and gluttonous seducers—which is not to say that slavery was anything but evil, but that the individual motivations for slavery were clearly more complex than the movie allows. And the movie's ending, with its abrupt transition to under-the-TV modernism. And despite its strength, *Capote* *Heart* remains trapped in the mire.

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Notes

April 25 is Canada Book Day

Allan Fotheringham

Who says only the cows are mad?

At the heavy thinkers of the day are sniffing their brows over the cynical snide of the great unwashed. Never has there been a time, they moan, when the confusion has such a low opinion of those in power.

It's true. The state of the proletariat is remarkable. The peasants with pitchforks were to storm the castle, as presidential candidate Pat Buchanan so memorably phrases it.

Good thing he's not running in Canada. What would he find? There is a thing called the Westey scandal, where several dozen ministers were scolded on the altar of production and even the main inspectors have testified they were afraid to venture underground.

The dairy mine just happened to be in the riding of a Tory MP who gave up his seat to allow for the election of a future prime minister, and \$100 million in public financing—surplus!—went into the pit, run by mine operators who now cover in Ontario and do not wish to testify as the inquiry—due sometime in 1994—unfolds.

There is the Somalia scandal, wherein groves men who are called generals are now plotting fingers at each other as to who was responsible for shredding documents—hello there, Office Norris—as as to hide the truth. The Marx Brothers may have to be revived to play the parts.

There is, in this peaceful longshore, the image—never to be forgotten—the Canadian Senate. Revolution in Ontario leaving a crowd going of riot squad police, dressed right out of Sher West, to clash dangerous kindergarten teachers supporting the strike against the poll men who consider as premier of what was once the last province of the nation. In their panic, the Nansene Revolutionaries have now ordered an inquiry into the twenty, which they say will cost \$2 million with a report not expected before September. Those it is up to you to read.

The Ottawa government has lost all its vehicles and tractors. Its looter suggestion that a former prime minister of the realm would be so dumb as to involve a hidden Swiss bank account is collapsing like a five-dollar suitcase.

The madman spreads across the land, as contagious as mad cow disease. In British Columbia, the bright and shiny new pro-



vince, our Glen Clark, decides to suck—within months of his retirement—the respected conflict of interest controversies. Ted Hughes, and replace him with a Liberal colleague who engaged the opposition that promises to be the new government. Within days, the shiny new premier who had been rising in the polls reverses himself. Go figure. The mad cow virus spreads rapidly.

It's gone to the brain of Ralph Klein. Polls show Jens Charest is the most respected federalist in Quebec, close behind Jean Chrétien and Daniel Johnson, after his admirable performance in the recent election battle. And Klein, who is allegedly a Tory supporter of Alberta, slabs Charest in the front—out the usual location in Tory politics—by urging his party into bed with the misty-eyed Reform party.

Does high-school dropout Ralph see himself as the David-And between the two? And a future prime minister? Mad cow envelopes us all.

You want more? The Liberals, fleeing Quebec, do everything they can under the Commons' arcane rules to prevent a close examination of the Blue-Quebec MP who sent a letter to Quebec soldiers as to how they would be welcomed to visit the wall the day after the referendum vote. Only in Canada, as Gen. Lewis Mackenzie said, rolling his eyes.

As Canada has now filled all its top three positions with Americans, who the last time I looked have not taken out citizenship papers. The ever-jealousous Sherb Cohen, who is supposed to be the deputy PM, has vowed she will resign if her government does not dump the GST, which her boss, who is supposed to be the

PM, has no intention of burying. More? The province of British Columbia allowed Alcan Aluminia to spend \$655 million of a massive hydro project to remain. Natural before deciding, because of concerns about salmon, to kill the project. This is called forward thinking.

To testify as to the great benefits of NAFTA (which Jean Chrétien promised to tear up), Washington has now belittled Ottawa into agreeing to penalize Canadian software hardware exporters who try to ship their products to the United States of America simply because our stuff is cheaper. This is known as free trade. The RCMP which can't prevent suitcase thieves from wandering into 24 Sussex Drive at night because they have reports from the Mutual Ride snooping in the guard house, have hired Walt Disney to market all those Mickey dolls sold to Japanese tourists in Banff. The CBC, it turns out, forgot to renew the contracts of the Royal Canadian Air Force and The Howl Ha 22 Mounties and they, laughing, are now enjoying junior contracts after rival bids upped the price.

It turns out, with the Ontario government, releasing the salaries of everyone under its employ, that a gladiator made \$100,000 last year. And the president of a top Ontario university—a former senator, whom—makes more than the president of the largest, the University of Toronto. And a pretty face anchor at TVOntario makes more than the boss, Peter Herrndorf.

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